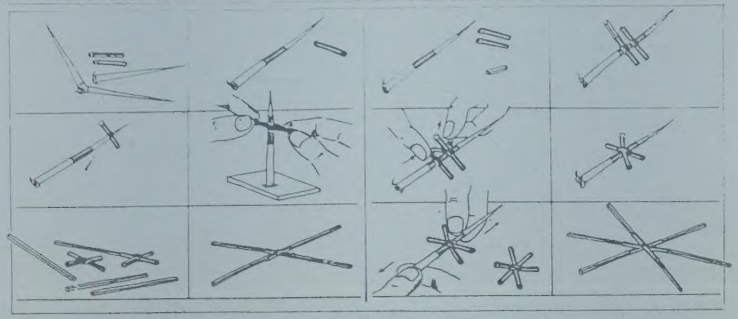
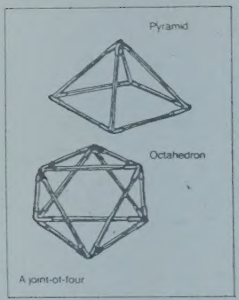
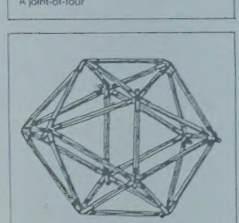




A joint-of-four


Suresh Sampanee

A stable and efficient packing



A joint-of-six

are approximately 60 degrees apart. For a joint-of-five, cut short one of the legs of the H.

Using the joint-of-five make an *icosahedron*. For this you will require 12 joints of five and 30 matchsticks. See whether you can flip in the pentagonal phases of the icosahedron by pressing them inside.

Basic modules

Apart from the triangle there are only three other basic structures which are stable, triangulated and symmetrical — the tetrahedron, the octahedron and the icosahedron. All the structures that you have made can themselves be arranged together in different combinations and configurations to generate newer structures. For example, when the prism is kept on top of the cube it becomes a house. Several such combinations will provide you with hours of entertainment.

For making larger models you can substitute the matchsticks with short and equal pieces of cycle spokes.

A geodesic dome can be made using matchstick members and joints of six. This kind of dome is basically a triangulated hemisphere — an igloo made of triangles.

The beauty of the tetrahedron

If you had a few marbles how would you arrange them so that they occupied the least amount of space?

Well if they were just two you could just keep them side by side. If, however, there are three marbles, you can put them in a straight row. But this arrangement is expensive. The closest pack of three marbles is when they are arranged in a triangle.

It turns out that four marbles are most closely packed if the fourth marble is placed over the valley formed by the earlier marble triangle. When four marbles are arranged in this manner they basically make a tetrahedron.

This close packing nature of tetrahedrons has always been used to advantage by working people, long before scientists discovered it. For instance, fruitsellers always have their oranges packed in neat tetrahedrons. So are the near spherical laddus in halwais' shops.

In the grain market, the big balances to weigh heavy sacks are suspended from the top of a bamboo tripod — which is essentially a tetrahedral structure.

Molecular structures

A number of simple molecular structures can also be made using the matchstick valve tube meccano. For instance, four marbles can be neatly inserted into the tetrahedron. The resulting structure becomes the molecular structure for "methane" — which is the major constituent in gobar gas. The chemical symbol of methane is CH_4. Here the four atoms of the hydrogen are at the four apexes of the tetrahedron, and the lone carbon sits in the space between the four hydrogen atoms.

Similarly other molecular and lattice structures can be made.

Octahedron-tetrahedron complex

When four equal tetrahedrons are grouped to define a larger tetrahedron, the resulting space is an octahedron. You can actually make a larger tetrahedron using four small tetrahedrons and one octahedron. If the volume of the small tetrahedron is one (edge-length — one matchstick), then the volume of the larger tetrahedron (edge length — two matchsticks) is $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$ times the volume of the smaller tetrahedron. Thus the volume of the octahedron can be empirically calculated as $8 - (4 \times 1) = 4$.

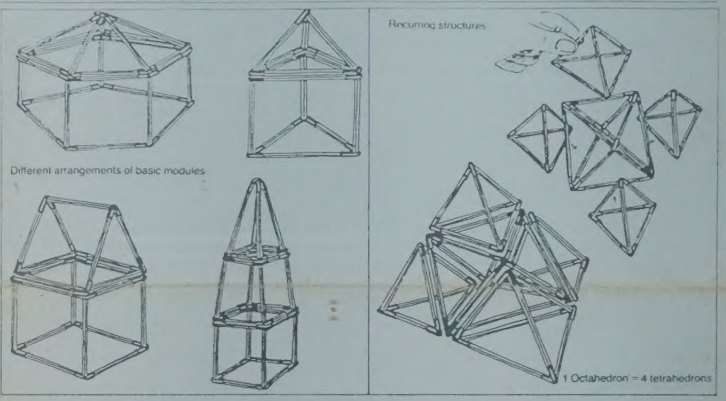
Similarly, a cube may be formed by placing four 1/8 octahedrons with their equilateral faces on the four triangular faces of the tetrahedron. Since, tetrahedron = 1, and 1/8 octahedron = 1/2, therefore, the value of a cube is $= 1 + (4 \times 1/2) = 3$.

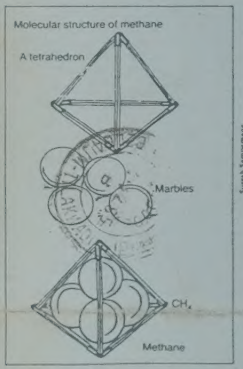
So if the tetrahedron has a volume of one, the octahedron has a volume of four, and the cube has a volume of three.

That is very interesting, because if you try accounting in cubes for nature's give-and-take and constructions — as structural systems — you use up three times as much space as you do if you count space volumes in tetrahedron units. Since nature always economises, it never uses cubes for its structuring. If you use tetrahedrons as your co-ordinating system, something very economical and fundamental happens. The cube's angles are all 90 degrees. When you want to make a bigger cube out of little cubes — want to double the size of the cube—you then put eight little cubes together and get them closely stacked around a point. The edges of the big cube are two units long (if the small cube has a unit edge). So it is possible to build only third power models using cubes.

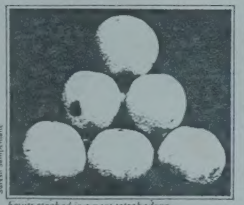
By using 60 degrees co-ordinate systems, you can put 20 tetrahedrons around one point instead of the eight cubes. Two to the fourth power is sixteen, and there are 20 tetrahedrons around a point. It is possible, then, for school children to make fourth and fifth power models with tetrahedral and octahedral building blocks.

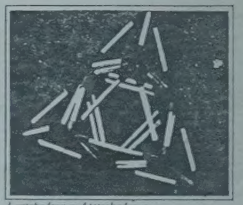
Mr Gupta, an electrical engineer is involved with popular science movements. The matchstick meccano was developed by him as part of the Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme aimed at activity-based science teaching for village children.





Suresh Sampanee


Fruits stacked is a neat tetrahedron


1 octahedron = 4 tetrahedrons

You'll find it all matches

ANY MECCANO, even of the most expensive sort, when stripped of its frills and fancies, essentially reduces to a few basic building blocks and couplings. These basic building blocks and couplings can be joined in a variety of ways to create an array of different structures and configurations.

The matchstick meccano is much more versatile and organic than the commercial kind. It uses matchsticks as the basic structural members and bits of cycle valve tube as joints and couplings. Cycle valve tube is readily available and is sold by weight in cycle shops. A 100 g packet of valve tube costs Rs 5 and contains about 20 metres of tubing.

With valve tube rubber joints to which 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, matchsticks could be affixed, this meccano provides a great deal of design latitude and flexibility in model making.

Though at first sight the models may appear fragile, they are indeed fairly strong. This is because all the joints are made of shock absorbent rubber tubing. Because of this property the models bounce back when chucked against a wall.

Angles

Cut about 1 cm long pieces of the cycle valve tube. With a blade scrape the sulphur from the matchstick heads. Now push a matchstick halfway through the valve tube. You'll find that the matchstick end slides snugly inside the valve tube. Through the other end of the valve tube insert a second matchstick.

This is a joint of two matchsticks, or simply a joint-of-two. It's a flexible joint and can be used for making acute angles, right angles and obtuse angles.

Join three matchsticks and three valve tubes in a row. Loop this assembly together to form a triangle. As the matchsticks are the same length the triangle turns out to be equilateral — with all its sides equal. All the angles of this triangle would automatically be equal and measure 60 degrees. This gives a concrete feel for a 60 degree angle.

Other shapes, like isoceles triangles, squares, rectangles, pantagons, hexagons and octagons, can be made by joining together more matchsticks to more valve tube pieces. In this way a whole range of polygons can be made.

Arrange sets of similar polygons or their combinations into different layouts so as to generate new patterns.

Triangles are rigid

Try pressing a pentagon between your thumb and the middle finger. What happens? The pentagon caves in, distorting from its initial shape. Try doing the same thing with the hexagon. The hexagon also changes shape.

Now hold opposite sides of the square and try pressing it. What happens? The square is unable to resist the pressure. Its right angle gives way and distorts into a rhombus.

Finally, try pushing the triangle. What happens? It does not budge at all. Its shape remains unaltered. The triangle remains a triangle.

The triangle is the only rigid polygon.

You must have often seen steel girders and beams across railway bridges and river streams. The bridge trusses are always divided into triangles. What would have happened had they been divided into squares or pentagons?

We have just seen how stable and rigid the triangle is. What can be done to make "dancing shapes" like the square rigid? Simply divide the square into two triangles by adding on a diagonal element.

To do this simply pierce a long babool thorn or a needle (preferably a long one) through the diagonal rubber valve tube joints of the square. Does the square still wobble? Why? How will you now convert the pentagon and the hexagon into rigid shapes?

Joint-of-3 or T-joint

Pierce a hole in the valve tube joint-of-two, by poking it at right angles with a babool (acacia) thorn. Push a third matchstick (slightly sharpened at the end) in this hole. This is a joint-of-three, or a T-joint. Take the equilateral triangle which you have made earlier. Poke holes in its valve tube joints with the babool thorn. Now push the three matchstick legs of the joint in the holes of the triangle. For ease of entry slightly sharpen the ends of the matchsticks in the T-joint.

A new structure takes birth. It has four corners, 6 edges and 4 distinct surfaces. All its surfaces are equilateral triangles. Triangles, we have just discovered, are rigid shapes. So we can presume that a structure made up of equilateral triangles should be a rigid structure too. And it turns out to be true. This structure is called the *tetrahedron* (meaning made up of four triangles) and is the most fundamental structure found in nature.

In a similar manner we can join two separate triangles with 3 matchstick legs, thereby making a *prism*.

Two separate squares joined together by 4 matchsticks would make a *cube*.

You can make many more structures using the joint of three.

Joint-of-4 or X-joint

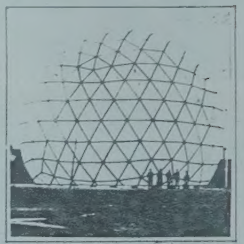
Cut two pieces of valve tube, each about 2 cm long. Push a babool thorn through the hole of one valve tube. The thorn acts as a spindle and provides rigidity to the rubber valve tube. Now place this thorn at right angles to the length of the second valve tube and pierce it through its centre. Now hold the thorn vertical with its broad end resting on the floor. Pull both the ends of the second valve tube (this stretches its hole) and slide it over the first valve tube. Now gently remove the valve tube cross joint from the thorn. This is a joint-of-four. Fix four matchsticks in this X-joint.

Pick up the square which you had made earlier. Poke holes in its valve tube joints with the help of a babool thorn. Fix the four matchsticks legs of the X-joint in these holes.

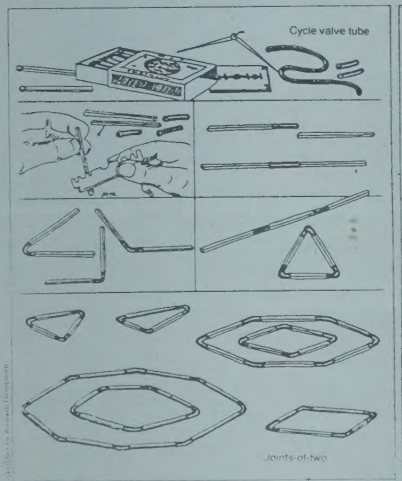
This new structure is a *pyramid*. Its apex is a joint-of-four. Make more structures like the *octahedron* using joints-of-four. For the octahedron you will require 6 joints-of-four and 12 matchsticks.

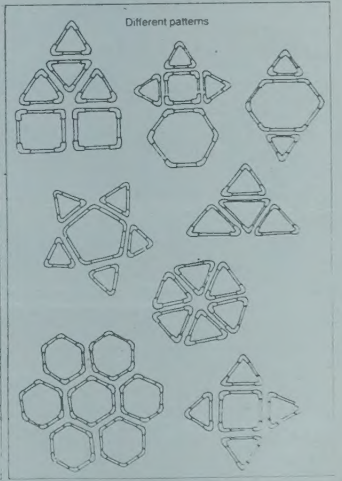
Star joint

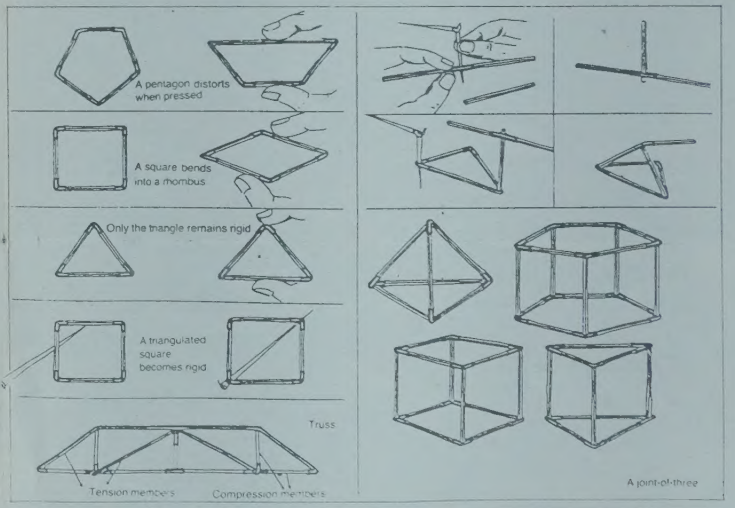
Make a joint-of-four as described in the previous section, but do not remove it from the babool thorn. Like the second valve tube, slide a third valve tube crosswise over the first. The second and the third valve tubes are now at right angles to the first. Thus we get an H shape. Insert a small piece of matchstick in any of the free legs of the H. Sharpen the ends of the matchstick, and weave it through the centre of the other leg of the H. After removing the babool thorn phase out the six legs of the valve tube star so that they



A geodesic dome: an igloo made of triangles







Wait and watch

It will be naive to believe that Indo-US relations now are hunky-dory

INDO-American relations have always been a roller coaster. You know that you will get there after some exhilarating moments but there will be moments when you may feel that it may jump off the tracks, endangering the passengers. These are nervous moments.

One reason why no country in the world can take its relations with the United States for granted is that the US has taken to heart the sage advice of a British statesman that a country has no friends and no enemies, only interests. Behind the veneer of friendship, the smiles for the camera and hearty handshakes are teams of task forces which periodically examine and reexamine the international situation and, sometimes, drastically reversing American policies. There is nothing Machiavellian about it: it is something all but the most naive are supposed to do. Any assumption that India and America are automatic friends and unspoken allies—as the late Hubert Humphrey put it—is bound to lead to needless disappointment and disillusionment.

The US is still carrying out the most drastic reassessment of its domestic and foreign policies and its relations with friends and allies during the period of cold war in the revolutionary situation that has arisen as a result of the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union and the stunning Gulf victory which has made the US only global power and by definition, the sole world policeman. It wants no challenge from new nuclear or missile powers.

The Gulf victory has worsened some of the tendencies which were becoming evident even earlier—the tendency to legislate for the rest of the world unilaterally, assumption of moral superiority over the third world and cavalier dismissal of the Five Principles of Coexistence presented to the world by Nehru and Zhou Enlai, the key plank of which was non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful coexistence of different systems of government.

Undoubtedly, the decision of the Narasimha Rao government to liberalise the economy has removed some of the irritants in Indo-American economic relations. However, there is the sword of Damocles which will fall on India's head if US Trade Representative Carla Hills decides, with the approval of President Bush, to retaliate unless India gives free access to the US motion picture industry and US insurance firms and bankers and removes the remaining restraints on trade and recognition of intellectual property and patent rights at a pace acceptable to Washington and not merely to Indian Parliament and to the GATT.

It is pathetic to see the smug satisfaction that emanates from some Indian government spokesmen after an audience with Carla Hills and to hear the opposite about the outcome of the same meetings from her spokesmen who "tell it like it is".

It is possible to avoid US retaliation if the basic decision has been taken in New Delhi to remove all restrictions and the question is only one of pace. It should not be too difficult to negotiate with Washington about the pace of change, for the US too has many trade restrictions it cannot remove suddenly, for example, on textiles, sugar and various other aspects. The US is certainly not prepared to let third world companies bring in their own labour to the US in the name of free movement of goods and services while it demands access to US goods and services.

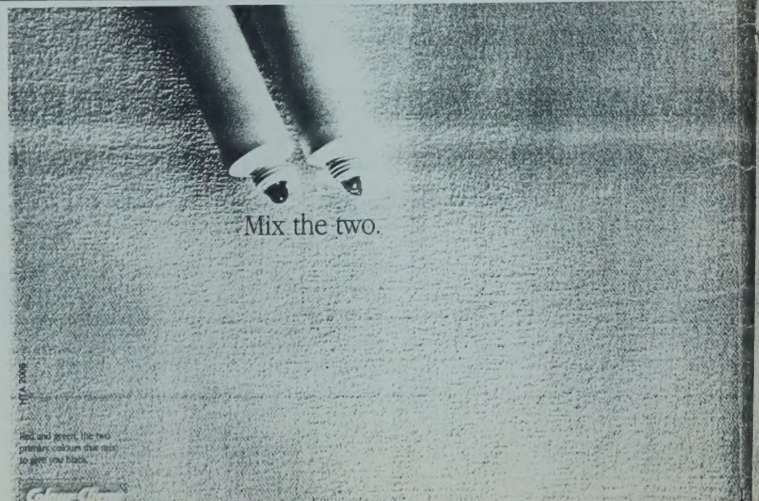
It is necessary to avoid both excessive optimism and excessive pessimism in negotiations with the US. It is possible to reconcile many conflicting interests but it is essential to acknowledge that national interests diverge. The US is currently in a very militant mood on trade issues because it is going through a recession which defies reversal. It has been attributed to the excess of the Reagan era when perfectly good companies were allowed to be taken over by financial thugs and bandicoots with other people's money at unsustainable rates of interest, when good airlines with enviable safety records were made to compete with adventurers who were after the fast buck, and financial incentives were given not to entrepreneurs and genuine investors but to financial freebooters. Frustration over the belatedly acknowledged "free fall" of the economy, as Bush put it, makes the US extremely sensitive



Tough talk. *Carla Hills*

when CIA chief ... before a foreign relations committee. He reaffirmed that the US must stop treating India and Pakistan like Siamese twins on the issue of nuclear non-proliferation. The Pressler Amendment, which bars US economic and military aid to Pakistan unless the US president can testify that Pakistan does possess a nuclear device, does not apply to India—it is covered by the "grandfather clause", namely India's status prior to the passing of the law as a nuclear power, albeit unrecognised. But the US administration insists that so long as Asia as a whole should be treated as a nuclear-free zone. Indian agreement to such a zone will get President Bush off the hook on the Pressler Amendment.

The insistence on equating India and Pakistan started under John Foster Dulles, and that baleful policy is still being followed in this as in many other matters. Strong insistence by India that it cannot give up the nuclear option





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Yes, this is just the beginning.

unless there is universal nuclear disarmament will not earn Washington's friendship but it may save Indo-American relations in the long run.

One issue on which there can be no softening and no compromise is of course India's territorial integrity. There the US administration's position is pleasing on Punjab and acceptable on Kashmir. On Punjab, the US administration has said that it supports India's territorial integrity. Much to the dismay of the late V.K. Krishna Menon, one of the most articulate and brilliant spokesmen any country has produced since the inception of the world body, the US refused to accept Kashmir as an integral state of the Indian Union, though it saved its own territorial integrity by fighting a civil war and acquired vast areas of its current territory not by consulting the people's will but by seizing it by force (California, New Mexico, Arizona,Texas and so on), by



Grandfather clause in favour of India. *Pressler with Foreign Minister Solanki.*

purchase (Lousiana and Alaska) and other means involving anything but the people's will. It says that it is "disputed territory".

However, it accepts the Shimla Agreement which allows both India and Pakistan to make their mutual claims—India to the occupied areas of Kashmir and Pakistan to the areas where the Indian writ runs—but commits them to seek solutions bilaterally and by peaceful means. That means that India can live with the US attitude on Kashmir but Pakistan cannot. Pakistan gets no part of the loaf. India gets at least half.

On the human rights issue, apart from the fundamental objection to the US government setting itself up as a tribune, its views are balanced: it condemns terrorism though it also criticises India and its law-enforcement authorities, as if terrorists armed with AK-47s can be dealt with non-violently. However, the non-official organisations like Freedom House and Asia Watch and other organisations are totally unbalanced. Their condemnation of terrorism is perfunctory; their castigation of India is total. Large numbers of people have found a vocation denouncing other countries.

Freedom House in its latest review has downgraded India from a "free" country to "partially free", the only "free" countries in the subcontinent are Bangladesh and Nepal. On Kashmir, it has had the temerity of describing it as a "territory", not a state of the Indian Union. It says that Kashmir lacks political rights as well as civil rights. Kashmir is, in the words of Freedom House, "not free". On a scale of 1 to 7, Tibet gets a rating of 7 as the least free and Kashmir a rating of 6—on the same level as the occupied territories under Israel.

It is these kinds of statements by non-official organisations and their reflection by some members of US congress who faithfully take their instructions from the Khalistani and the anti-Indian Kashmir lobbies that prevent the normal development of the kind of relations that ought to subsist between the world's most powerful democracy and the world's most populous. Instead of trying to argue with those members of congress who want to destroy the Indian State as they have seen the Soviet Union and the Yugoslavia destroyed, it is time to make it clear to the US congress that such behaviour by some of its members violates international norms and is unacceptable to India.

None of the problems in Indo-American relations is insoluble, given a measure of goodwill on both sides. However, it serves no purpose denying that there are and will be problems.

—T.V. PARASURAM in washington

INTERVIEW: J.N. DIXIT

What have the Arabs given us?

WHEN the going gets tou
he gets going. Jyotindra Na
Dixit, 'Mani' to friends, h
always been a tough customer. N
known for soft options, the prese
foreign secretary has been refres
ingly unambiguous when it comes
words and deeds.

A man cut out for crisis situation
he has done business with all t
neighbours when things were far fro
normal. He was undersecretary
South Block dealing with China wh
the war broke out in 1962. He was
director in the external affairs mini
try when the Bangladesh liberatio
war began and was sent to Dhaka
open the mission. He spent thre
strenuous years in Afghanistan a
ambassador before being sent to S
Lanka as high commissioner—he d
rected the IPKF operation and becam
the most feared foreigner in Colomb
after the Lankan government struck
secret deal with the LTTE. His exper
ence in Pakistan was no less stormy
During this period, the two countrie
teetered on the verge of war.

Dixit, 55, became foreign secretar
aptly when India was making drasti
changes in its foreign policy. And he i
unapologetic about the sharp turns
has taken. Excerpts from an interview

▸ QUESTION: *Has India changed it
perceptions on west Asia?*

ANSWER: i have a simple question
Who should be more interested in cre
ating a Palestinian state? Number one
it should be the Palestinians. Numbe
two, the Arab countries which are geo
graphically more proximate and ar
the same people in terms of ethnicit
and nationality. If they themselves ar
talking to Israel for a via media why
should we follow a separate path? Does
it serve any particular interest? Does
our sticking to the old style serve any
Indian interest?

*The ties with Israel were linked t
the creation of Palestine. But we have
moved towards Israel before that objec
tive being achieved. There is criticism
that it has been a sell-out.*

ಕೈಗಾ: ಸಿ.ಬಿ.ಐ ತನಿಖೆಗೆ ಆಗ್ರಹ

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ

ಕಾರವಾರ, ಮೇ 23– ಕೈಗಾ ಅಣುಸ್ಥಾವರ ಗುಮ್ಮಟದ ಒಳಗಿನ ಭಾಗ ಯೊಂದು ಕುಸಿದುಬಿದ್ದು ಕಳಪೆ ಕಾಮಗಾರಿಗೆ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಕಳಪೆ ಕಾಮಗಾರಿಗೆ ಯಾರು ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರರು ಎಂಬುದರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಯೋಜನಾ ಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಎಲ್ಲ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿರ್ಚುಗ ಮಾಡಿದ ಹಣದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸಿ.ಬಿ.ಐ ತನಿಖೆಯಾಗಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಕಾರವಾರ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಶಾಸಕ ಪ್ರಭಾಕರ ರಾಣೆ ಅವರು ಇಂದು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಪತ್ರಿಕಾ ಗೋಷ್ಠಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು.

ಕೈಗಾ ಅಣುವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಯೋಜನೆಯ ಯೋಜನಾ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕರೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಅನೇಕ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಕಾರವಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಕೈಗಾ ಸುತ್ತಮುತ್ತ ಆಸ್ತಿಪಾಸ್ತಿ ಏರಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಕೈಗಾ ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರೀ ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಾಚಾರ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದೆ ಎಂಬ ದೂರುಗಳು ಅನೇಕ ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಂದ ಕೇಳಿ ಬರುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಸತ್ಯಾಸತ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಯಲು ಕೂಡ ಸಿ.ಬಿ.ಐ ತನಿಖೆ ಅವಶ್ಯವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ಕಳಪೆ ಅಣುಸ್ಥಾವರ ಕಟ್ಟಡವನ್ನು ದುರಸ್ತಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿಸುವ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಅಣುಸ್ಥಾವರಗಳ ಆಯುಷ್ಯ ಕೇವಲ 25 ವರ್ಷಗಳು. ಪ್ರತಿ ಯೂನಿಟ್ ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವೆಚ್ಚ 3 ರೂ. ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕದ್ರಾ, ಕೊಡಸಳ್ಳಿ ಜಲವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳ ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವೆಚ್ಚ ಪ್ರತಿ ಯೂನಿಟ್‌ಗೆ ಕೇವಲ 80 ಪೈಸೆಯಷ್ಟಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ವಿವರಿಸಿದರು. ಜನರೇಟರ್‌ಗಳಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದಿಸಿದರೂ ವಿರ್ಚು ಪ್ರತಿ ಯೂನಿಟ್‌ಗೆ 3 ರೂ. ದಾಟುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದರು.

ಆಪಾದನೆ: ಕೈಗಾ ಅಣುವಿದ್ಯುತ್ ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವೆಚ್ಚ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಲು ಕಟ್ಟಡ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳ ಬೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿನ ಹೆಚ್ಚಳ ಮಾತ್ರ ಕಾರಣವಲ್ಲ. ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥ ಸಾಧನೆಯೂ ಕಾರಣವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಭಾಕರ ರಾಣೆಯವರು ಆಪಾದಿಸಿದರು. ಕೈಗಾ ಯೋಜನಾ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಬಂದಂತೆ ಅನೇಕ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿ ನಂತರ ಒಡೆದು ಹಾಕಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಆರೋಪಿಸಿದರು.ಅಣುಶಕ್ತಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ರಹಸ್ಯ ಕಾರ್ಯಯನ್ನು ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ದುರುಪಯೋಗ ಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೇ ಈ ದುಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಉಂಟಾಗಲು ಕಾರಣ ಎಂದು ಅವರು ವಿವರಿಸಿದರು.

ಹಳೆಯ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕತೆಯ ಕಾರಣ ಜೆರ್ಮಿಬಿಲ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ದುರಂತ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿತು. ಆದರೆ ಉನ್ನತ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಜ್ಞಾನ ಮತ್ತು ಅತ್ಯಾಧುನಿಕ ಉಪಕರಣಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ಕೈಗಾ ಅಣುಸ್ಥಾವರಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ಅಣುವಿಜ್ಞಾನಿ ರಾಜಾರಾಮಣ್ಣ ಅವರು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಜನತೆಗೆ ಭರವಸೆ ನೀಡಿದ್ದರು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ದುರಂತ ಸಂಭವಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ ಇಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರೆ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲೇ ಕಳಪೆ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಕಂಡು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲೇ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಳಪೆ ವಸಿಹನದವರು ಮುಂದಿನ ಹಂತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಳಜಿ ವಹಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ ಎಂಬುದರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಆಧಾರವೇನಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಶ್ನಿಸಿದ ಅವರು ಕೈಗಾ ಯೋಜನೆಯ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ವಿಶ್ವಾಸ ಹೊರಟು ಹೋಗಿದೆ ಎಂದರು.

ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮೊದಲನೇ ಅಣುಸ್ಥಾವರ ಕಟ್ಟಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಘಾತಾತ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿದಾಗ 13 ಮಂದಿ ಗಾಯಗೊಂಡರೆಂದು ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ಮೂಲಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸಿವೆ. ಆದರೆ ಕೈಗಾ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು 7 ಮಂದಿ ಗಾಯಗೊಂಡರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಕೆಲಸ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಒಬ್ಬ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿ ಹೇಳಿದರೆ ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿ ಕೆಲಸ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿತ್ತು, ಆನೇಕರು ಮಧ್ಯಾಹ್ನದ ಊಟಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದರು ಎಂದು ತಾವು ಭೇಟಿ ನೀಡಿದಾಗ ಹೇಳಿದರೆಂದು ಅವರು ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು. ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 11.30 ರ ಸುಮಾರಿಗೆ ಆಘಾತಾತ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿದೆ ಅದು ಮಧ್ಯಾಹ್ನದ ಊಟದ ಸಮಯವಲ್ಲ ಎಂದರು. ಕೈಗಾ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಸಂಜೆಯ ವರೆಗೂ ಪೊಲೀಸರಿಗೆ ಆಘಾತಾತದ ಸುದ್ದಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ಪಕ್ಕದಲ್ಲೇ ಇರುವ ಪೊಲೀಸ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗೆ ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ ಮೂಲಗಳಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಕ್ಕೆ ಧಾವಿಸಿದಾಗ ಈ ಘಟನೆ ನಡೆದಿದ್ದರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂತು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ವಿವರಿಸಿದರು. ಗಾಯಾಳುಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಪರಿಹಾರ ನೀಡಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಒತ್ತಾಯಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಆಘಾತಾತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲ ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರು ಸತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂಬ ವದಂತಿ ಕೈಗಾ ಸುತ್ತಮುತ್ತಲಿನ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಬ್ಬಿದೆ. ಪೊಲೀಸ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಈ ಕುರಿತು ವಿಚಾರಣೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು.

ಸಲಹೆ: ಕೈಗಾ ಯೋಜನೆಯನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಗಿತಗೊಳಿಸಬೇಕು. ಈ ಯೋಜನಾ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಸ ಜನೋಪಯೋಗಿ ಯೋಜನೆ ಹಾಕಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಸಲಹೆ ನೀಡಿದರು. ಬದಲಿ ಇಂಧನ ಮೂಲಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಮಾಡಲು ಈ ಯೋಜನಾ ಪ್ರದೇಶವನ್ನು ಬಳಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳ ಬಹುದು. ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಘಟ್ಟದ ಪರಿಸರ ಅಘಾತ್ಯದ್ರಿಗಾಗಿ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಬಹುದು. ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಘಟ್ಟ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ 2000 ಸಸ್ಯ ಜಾತಿಗಳು ಲಭ್ಯವಿವೆ. ಇಷ್ಟೊಂದು ಪ್ರಕಾರದ ಸಸ್ಯ ಸಂಕುಲ ಬೇರೆ ಯಾವುದೇ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶೇ.75 ರಷ್ಟು ಔಷಧಿ ಸಸ್ಯಗಳಿವೆ. ಪರಿಸರ ಸಂರಕ್ಷಣೆ ಮತ್ತು ಔಷಧಿ ಸಸ್ಯಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯಿಂದ ಇಡೀ ಜಗತ್ತಿಗೇ ಲಾಭವಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ವಿವರಿಸಿದರು.

ಡಾ. ರಾಜಾರಾಮಣ್ಣ ಅವರು ಕೈಗಾ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಜನತೆಗೆ ಭಾರಿ ಕನಸುಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡಿದ್ದರು. ಕಾರವಾರ ಸ್ವರ್ಗದ ತುಣುಕಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರೆ ಕೈಗಾ ಅಣುಶಕ್ತಿ ಯೋಜನೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಕಾರವಾರ ನರಕದ ಬಾಯಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಭಾಗವಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಭಾಕರ ರಾಣೆ ಅವರು ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು.

ಗೂಂಡಾ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ: ಕೈಗಾ ಕಾಮಗಾರಿಗಳ ಗುತ್ತಿಗೆ ಪಡೆದ ಎಲ್ ಅಂಡ್ ಟಿ ಅವರು ಈ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಗೂಂಡಾ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ ಬೆಳೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಆಪಾದಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಹೊಸಗೂಂಡಾ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲೇ ಹತ್ತಿಕ್ಕುವ ಕುರಿತು ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ವರಿಷ್ಠಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಜೊತೆ ಚರ್ಚಿಸಿರುವುದಾಗಿ ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗ ಮಾರ್ಗವಾಗಿ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು– ಅಥವಾ ಮೈಸೂರು ಮತ್ತು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಕರಾವಳಿಯ ಮಂಗಳೂರು ರೈಲಿನಿಂದ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕು. ಬೀದರ್– ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿ– ಬಿಜಾಪುರ– ಅಥನಿ– ಬೆಳಗಾವಿಯ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಮಾರ್ಗವಿದ್ದು. ನಿಮಗೆ ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಕೇಂದ್ರ ಪರಿವರ್ತನೆಯ ಸೌಕರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಲಾಗದ ಜೋಜಿನಿಗಳು. ಆದರೆ ಯಾವುಗೇಜಿನ ಪರಿವರ್ತನೆ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ

9ನೇ ಪುಟ ನೋಡಿ

ಓಡುವಂತಾದರೆ

ನಿಜಾಂಶ ಆಗ ಪಿಕ್ಕಿಕರಿಗೆ ಒರಿಜಿಯಾಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತು.

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು

–ಆತ್ಮಗಡ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿನ್ನೆ

ಹಾಡೇರಿ

ಶಂಖ ಊದುವುದನ

ಮಾನ್ಯರೇ,

ಈಚಿನ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಹಿತಿ–ರಾಜಕಾರಣಿಗಳ ಹೊಳ್ಳು ಆಟಾಟೋಪ ಪಗಳನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿ ವಿಷಾದದಿಂದ ಈ ಪತ್ರ ಬರೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬಂದ ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯತೆಗೆ ಕ್ಷಮಿಸಿ.

ಕಾಲದಿಂದ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಏಬುವುದು ರಾಜಾಶ್ರಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳೆದು ಬಂದ ಬಗೆ ಯನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದರೆ. ಆಳುವವರ ಕೈಗೊಂಬೆ ಗಳಾಗಿ ಬರೆದ ಯಾವನೂ ಆದ್ಯತ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಥವಾ ಜಾತಿ ರಾಜಕೀಯದಿಂದಾಗಲೀ. ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳಿಂದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಗಿಟ್ಟಿಸಿ, ಸನ್ಮಾನ ಅಥವಾ ಬಿರುದು ಬಾವಲಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹಾಕಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಯಾವನೂ ಗಟ್ಟಿಯಾಗಿ ನಿಲ್ಲಬಲ್ಲ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಿರುವುದು ನಿಜವಾಗಿ ಹಸಿದವನಿಂದ ಅಥವಾ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಮುಂತಾದ ಪರಿಕರಗಳಿಂದ ಆವಮಾನಿತನಾಗಿ ಕೀಳರಿಮೆ ಅನುಭವಿಸಿದ ಮೂಲ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಏಬುದನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಹಿತಿ– ಕ– ರಾಜಕಾರಿಗಳಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿದು ಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಅಗತ್ಯ.

ಯಾವುದೇ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲೂ ಸೃಜನಶೀಲ ವಾದ ಒಂದು ವಾಕ್ಯವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಲಾಗದ ವರೂ, ಸೃಜನ ಪಕ್ಷಪಾತದಿಂದ ಅಥವಾ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಲೋಲುಪತೆಯಿಂದ ಇಲ್ಲವೇ ವಂಚಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಕರ್ಚಿಯನ್ನು ಭವಿಷ್ಯ ವಲ್ಲಿ ಗಳಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಪಿಕ್ಕಿಕ ಆಶಯದ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವು ಆಂಗವಾಗಿ ಮೂರನೇ ದರ್ಜೆಯ ರಾಜಕಾರಣಿಗಳಂತೆ. ಬುದ್ಧಿ ಜೀವಿಗಳೂ. ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮಮನಸ್ಸುಳ್ಳವರೂ ಆಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದ್ದ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಹಿತಿಗಳೆನಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ವರು ಈ ನೋಡಿದರೆ. ಲ್ಲರ ಆಯೋಗ ಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಯಾವುದೇ ಮಾಡುವ ವಾದ ವಿಷ ವಿಷ್ಯೋ ಮಾಡುವುದನ್ನ ಎಂದು ಮ ದಿಂದ ಕ್ಷುಲ್ಲ ಪದಗಳಿಂದ ಮಿಂಚಿ ಬಾ ಬ್ಬಲ ಮ ಸಾಧಿಸುವ ಒಂದರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಆದರೆಂದರೆ ವರು ಸಣ್ಣತ ತಪ ವಿಶಾ ಕೊಂಡು. ಗುವ ಬಿ ಕೊಂಡು. ಕಲಿಯನ್ನು ಒಂದಷ್ಟು ಆದು ಎಂದರು ನೋಡಿಕೊಂ ಇನ್ನು ತ ಗಳಿಗೆ ತ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಕ್ಕಾ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿ

ದಾವಣಗೆರೆ

(ಈ ವಿಷಯ

ಾಟಕ

ನಿಜ ಎಯು
ಪರೋಕ್ಷವಾಗಿ
ವಾಗಿ ಇದು
ತ್ಯ ಹೇಗಾಗುವು
ಯನ್ನು ಎತ್ತಲೂ
ಮಾಡಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿ

?

ರ್ಧಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಗಲಭೆ
ೇ ಹೆಸರಾಗಿರುವ
ೇಜಲ 13 ತೆಂಗಳ
ವಾರಿಗೆ ಕೃತ್ರಿಮ್
ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಸುಕ್ಕ
11. ದೊಡ್ಡ
ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು
ಕೆಲಸವೇನೂ ಆಲ್ಲ.
ಬತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಸುಳಿ
ಗಿಯಿತು ಬದಲಾ
ಸ್ಫು ಆಪಾಯಕಾರಿ
ಬ್‌ಗಳನ್ನು ಕಳೆದ
ೇಶ ವಿಸರ್ಜನೆ
ಮಹಿಳಾ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯೊ
ಳ್ಳಲಾಗಿತ್ತು.
ಸೇನಾ ಮೂಲ
ಾಗಲೇ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾ
ಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಸೇನೆಯ
ರುವುದು. ಆಲ್ಲಿ
ದರಿಯ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗ
ಡುವುದು ಕೇವಲ
ಲಾರದು. ಆದರೆ
ಸೇನಾ ನೆಲೆಯೂ
ತಮ್ಮ ದಾಸ್ತಾನಿಗೆ
ಹೇಳ್ಳಿ. ಕಳೆದ
12 ರಂದು
ಭವಿಸಿದ ಭಾರಿ
20 ದಿನಗಳ ನಂತರ
ೊದಲ ಬಾರಿಗೆ
ಸಿಕ್ಕಿತು. ಸಾಯಜಾ

ಗಿಯೇ ಇಡೀ ನಗರ ತತ್ತರಿಸಿ ಹೋಯಿತು. ಸುದೈವ ಬಶಾತ್ ಕಳೆದ 13 ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಮ್ಮೆಯೂ ಈ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳು ಜನರ ಆಥವಾ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಳಕೆಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ.

ಆದಾಗ್ಯೂ ಈ ರೀತಿ ವಿಲ್ಲಿಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳು ಸಿಗುತ್ತಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆತಂಕಗೊಂಡು ಆವುಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಲ್ಲೆ ತಯಾರು ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದ ಏಬುದನ್ನಾದರೂ ತಿಳಿಸಿ ಏಂದು ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಪೊಲೀಸರು ಹಿಡಿದಿರುವ ಪಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸೇನಾ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ತಾತ್ಕಾರವನ್ನೇ ತೋರಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ವಿಲ್ಲೆ ತಯಾರಾಗುತ್ತವೆ ಏಬುದು ತಿಳಿದರೆ ಆ ಮೂಲದಿಂದ ವಿಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಈ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳು ಪೂರೈಕೆಯಾವವು ಏಬುದನ್ನು ಈ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳ ಜೋಡಿನ ಬರಹದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಸುಲಭ.

ಈ ಬಾಂಬ್‌ಗಳು ವಿಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಹೊರಗೆ ಬರುತ್ತಿವೆ ಏಬು ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಹಿತದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಬಹಿರಂಗ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾದುದು ಸೇನೆಯ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ. 13 ತಿಂಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ಮೊದಲ ಬಾಂಬ್ ಹೊರಬಿದ್ದಾಗಲೇ ಅವರು ಈ ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡಬೆಕಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಆಥವಾ ಅದು ಸೇನಾ ರಹಸ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ವೆನ್ನುವುದಾದರೆ ಸೋರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ತಡೆಯಲು ಬಿಗಿ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನಾದರೂ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ತಾವು ಯಾರಿಗೂ ಉತ್ತರ ಕೊಡುಬೇಕಿಲ್ಲ ಏಂದು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಸೇನೆಯ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ತೋರಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಿರುವ ಧೋರಣೆ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಹಿತ ಜೀವಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿತದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಆಕ್ಷಮ್ಯ ವಾದುದು ಏನ್ನದೆ ವಿಧಿಯಿಲ್ಲ.

ಮಿಂಚು

'ನಿನ್ನ ರೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಯಾವ ಕವ
ತುಪ್ಪ ಸವರಿದೆ ಏಂಬುದನ್ನು
ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು...'
'ಖಾಯಕ್ಯ.... ನಾನು ರೊಟ್ಟಿಯ
ಎರಡೂ ಬದಿಯನ್ನು ತಿನ್ನುತ್ತೇನಲ್ಲ.

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ತ್ರಿವ

ಚಂದ್ರನನ್ನು ಸಮೀಪಿಸಿ ಮಾತ್ಯಸೌಕೆಗೆ ಲೂನಾರ್ ಮಾಡ್ಯೂಲ್

ಹೂಸ್ಟನ್ (ಟಿಕ್ಸಾಸ್), ಮೇ 23- ಮಾನವ ಹಿಂದೆಂದೂ ಹೋಗದಷ್ಟು ಚಂದ್ರನ ಸಮೀಪಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿ, ಮಾನವ ಚಂದ್ರನಲ್ಲಿ ಇಳಿಯುವ ತಾಣವನ್ನು ಗುರುತಿಸಿದ ನಂತರ ಗಗನಯಾತ್ರಿ ಟಾಮ್ ಸ್ಟಾಫರ್ಡ್, ಯುಜೀನ್ ಸರ್ನನ್ ಇಂದು ಮತ್ತೆ ಆಪೊಲೊ-10 ನೌಕೆಗೆ ಸುರಕ್ಷಿತವಾಗಿ ವಾಪಾಸಾದರು.

'ಸ್ನೂಪಿ' ಏಬು ಅಡ್ಡ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಆಪೆ

ನಾಯಕರಾ
ಸ್ಟಾಫರ್ಡ್
ಸಾಹಸಮಯ
ಆಲ್ಲಲ್ಲೇ ಹ
8.2 ನೌಕೆ
ಮೀಟರ್)
ಏಬಲ್‌ಸಲ್ಲಿ
ಚಂದ್ರಗ್ರಹ
ಗುರುತಿದರ

ಭೂಭಾ

ಚಂದ್ರ
ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿ
ನೌಕೆಯ
'ನಿತ್ಯ ಭವಿ
ಯಂತೆ.
ವೇಗದಲ್ಲಿ
ರಿಂದ ಭ
ಆನಗತ್ಯ
ಏನಾದರ
ಮುಂಗಿದ
ತಿಳಿಸಬಾ

ನಿತ್ಯ ಭ
ಆಘಾತ
ಬಾಯಾಡಿ
ಯಾತ್ರಿ
ಚಾರ

ನಿರಾಶಾ ಚಿತ್ರ

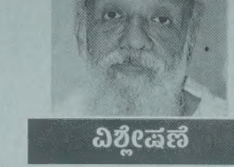






ಸನ್ಯಾಸ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದವನ್ನು ವಿಭಜಿಸಿರುವ ಇಂದಿನ ಸಂದರ್ಭ ಅಪಾಯಕಾರಿಯಾದುದು

ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ



ವಿಶ್ಲೇಷಣೆ

ಪ್ರಸನ್ನ



ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಅರ್ಥ ವಿಸ್ತರಣೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಹಲವು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳು ಇಂದು ವಿಶ್ವದಾದ್ಯಂತ ನಡೆದಿವೆ. ಸಮಾಜವಾದವನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತವೂ, ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಕಾರಿಯೂ ಆಗಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಉದ್ದೇಶ ಇದರ ಹಿಂದಿದೆ.

ಸಮಾನತೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಹಕಾರ ಮನೋಭಾವವನ್ನು ಮಾನವ ಸಮಾಜದೊಳಗೆ ಗಟ್ಟಿಗೊಳಿಸುವ ಮಹತ್ತರವಾದ ಉದ್ದೇಶದಿಂದ 19ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಯುರೋಪಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸ್‌ವಾದ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊತ್ತಮೊದಲ ಬಾರಿಗೆ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಯು ಮೇಲ್ಮೆದ್ದು ಬಂದಾಗ ಅದು ಮಾನವ ಕೇಂದ್ರಿತವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ಮಾನವ ಸಿಮಿತ ವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಸಮಾಜವಾದವು ಮೂಲತಃ ಒಂದು ರಾಜ ಕೀಯ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಸಮಾಜವಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಮಾ ಜಿಕ, ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ಆಯಾಮಗಳು ಇದ್ದವಾದರೂ, ಅವು ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಗಿದ್ದವು. ಅಥವಾ ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸ್‌ವಾದಿಗಳೇ ಬಳಸಿರುವ ಪದಗುಚ್ಛವೊಂದನ್ನು ಎರವಲು ಪಡೆದು ಹೇಳುವು ದಾದರೆ, ರಾಜಕೀಯ ನೆಲೆಗಟ್ಟಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಸಮಾಜ ವಾದಿ ಕಟ್ಟಡದ ಮೇಲ್ಪದರಲ್ಲಿ (Super structure) ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ಆಯಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಇಡಲಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಅದು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇರಬೇಕಾದದ್ದು ಎಂದು ನಂಬಲಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಸಮಾಜವಾದವು ಒಂದು ಬಲಿಷ್ಠವಾದ ಜನಪರ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅನುಮಾನವಿಲ್ಲ. ಕಳೆದ 100 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವು ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರ ನಾಯಕತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ, ಬಡ ರೈತರ ನಾಯಕತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ, ಪ್ರಜ್ಞಾವಂತ ಮಧ್ಯಮವರ್ಗದ ನಾಯಕತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೀಗೆ ವಿವಿಧ ಬಗೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಿಧ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅದು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಕೆಲವು ಕಡೆ ಸಮತಾವಾದ ಅಥವಾ ಕಮ್ಯುನಿಸಂ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿ ನಿಂದ ದುಡಿಯವ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಸರ್ವಾಧಿಕಾರ ಅಡಳಿತವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಗಗೊಂಡರೆ, ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಕಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೂರ್ಜ್ವಾ ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಅಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಚುನಾವಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದು ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಹಿಡಿದಿದೆ. ಇತರ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ ಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಹುದೊಡ್ಡ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪರೋಕ್ಷ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ವನ್ನು ಬೀರುವಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾಗಿದೆ.

ಇಷ್ಟಲ್ಲ ದೀರ್ಘ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಿದ್ದರೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ವೆಂಬುದು ಇನ್ನೂ ವಿಕಾಸ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಿರುವ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪ ನೆಯೇ ಸರಿ. ಅದೊಂದು ಆದರ್ಶ. ಕಳೆದ 100 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಪ್ರಾಯೋಗಿಕ ಆಚರಣೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ, ಈ ಆದರ್ಶದ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗೆ ಹಲವು ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆಗಳು ಮೇಲ್ಮೆದ್ದು ಬಂದಿವೆ.

1. ಕೇವಲ ಮಾನವ ಕೇಂದ್ರಿತವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ ಸಮಗ್ರ ಜೀವಪರಿಸರ ಜಾಲದ ಒಳಿತಿನ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವನ್ನಾಗಿಸುವುದು. ಅರ್ಥಾತ್ ಹಸಿರು ಸಮಾಜವಾದವನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸುವುದು.

2. ಕೇವಲ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಒತ್ತು ನೀಡಿದ್ದ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮದೊಳಗೆ ನೈತಿಕ ಆಶಯ ಗಳನ್ನು ಅಳವಡಿಸುವುದು. ಸರಳವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕೆಂದರೆ, ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಕ್ಕೂ ನಡುವೆ ದಿದ್ದಿರುವ ಅನ ಗತ್ಯ ಜಗಳವನ್ನು ಪರಿಹರಿಸುವುದು.

3. ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ವಿಕಾಸವನ್ನು ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಮೇಲುಪ್ಪದಿಂದ ಕೆಳಗಿಳಿಸಿ ತಂದು ರಾಜ ಕೀಯ ಆಯಾಮದೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸಮಸಮನಾಗಿ ಒಟ್ಟಿಸುವುದು.

ಈಗ ಈ ಮೂರು ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಂಚ ವಿಸ್ತಾರ ವಾಗಿ ಗಮನಿಸೋಣ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಸಂಗತಿ ಪರಿಸರ ಚಳ ವಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ್ದು. ಪರಿಸರ ಚಳವಳಿ ಮೊದಲಾದದ್ದು ಶ್ರೀಮಂತ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ. ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ದಿಂದಾಗಿ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಸಂಚಯಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ಯುರೋಪು ಹಾಗೂ ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಮೇಲ್ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಉತ್ತಮ ಬದುಕು ತಮ್ಮ ಹಕ್ಕು ಎಂಬ ಭಾವನೆಯಿತ್ತು. ತಮ್ಮ ಸುತ್ತಮುತ್ತ ಹೇಗಾದರೂ ಮಾಡಿ ಶುದ್ಧ ಪರಿಸರವೊಂದನ್ನು ಕಾಪಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬರ ಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅವರು ಹೆಣಗತೊಡಗಿದರು. ಒಂದೊಮ್ಮೆ ಪರಿಸರ ಹಾನಿಯು ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯವೇ ಆದರೆ, ತಮ್ಮ ಮಗ್ಗುಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅದು ಆಗದಿರಲಿ, ದೂರದ ಬಡದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಲಿ ಎಂದವರು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಪರಿಸರ ಹಾನಿಯ ಭೀಕರ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳು ಬೆಳೆಗೆ ಬಂದಂತೆಲ್ಲ ಪರಿಸರವನ್ನು ಸಿಮಿತ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂಬ ಅರಿವು ಮೂಡತೊಡಗಿತು.

ಪರಿಸರದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಕಾಳಜಿ ತೋರುತ್ತ ಬಂದವರು ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವಾದಿ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕರು, ಬೌದ್ಧ ಮುನಿಗಳು, ಆಶ್ರಮವಾಸಿಗಳು, ಕ್ರೈಸ್ತ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಗಳು ಮುಂತಾದವರು. ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕರಿಗೆ ಪರಿಸರ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆಯು ಸಮಗ್ರ ಜೀವನದೃಷ್ಟಿಯೇ ಆಗಿತ್ತು. ಆದರೆ, ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರ ಚಳವಳಿಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಮೊದಲ್ಗೊಂಡ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ಸಹಜ ವಾಗಿಯೇ ಆರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಿಸರದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅಜಾಗ್ರಿ ತಲೆಕೆಡಿ ಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅವ ರಿಗಿದ್ದ ಆಳವಾದ ಅನುಮಾನವು ಪರಿಸರನಾಶ, ಬಂಡ ವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವಿಧಾನಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ಸಂಬಂಧ ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಲು ಪ್ರೇರಣೆ ನೀಡಿತು. ಅನೇಕ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಚಿಂತಕರು ಹಸಿರು ಸಮಾಜವಾದತ್ತ ಹೊರಳಿದರು.

ಈ ನಡುವೆ ಸಮತಾವಾದಿ ಕ್ರೂಬಾ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಒಂದು ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾದದ್ದು. ಕ್ರೂಬಾ, ಅಮೆರಿಕ ಸಂಯುಕ್ತ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹತ್ತಿರವಿರುವ ಪುಟ್ಟದೊಂದು ದ್ವೀಪ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ. ಶಸ್ತ್ರಸಹಿತ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಮೂಲಕ ಸಮತಾ ವಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಪರಿವರ್ತಿತವಾದ ಕ್ರೂಬಾ, ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ಆಡಳಿತಗಾರರಿಗೆ ಮಗ್ಗುಲಿನ ಮುಳ್ಳಾಗಿ ಪರಿಣಮಿಸಿತು; ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ಆಡಳಿತವನ್ನು ಮಣಿಸಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕವು ಅದರ ಮೇಲೆ ದೀರ್ಘಕಾಲದ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ದಿಗ್ಬಂಧ ನವನ್ನು ಹೇರಿತು. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಕ್ರೂಬಾಗೆ ತೈಲ, ಪೆಟ್ರೋಲಿಯಂ ಉಪಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳ ಸರಬರಾಜು, ರಸ ಗೊಬ್ಬರ, ಕ್ರಿಮಿನಾಶಕ, ವಾಹನಗಳು, ಕಾರ್ಖಾನೆ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳಿಗೆ ದುರ್ಲಭವಾದವು. ಕ್ರೂಬನ್ನರ ಮುಂದೆ ಹಚ್ಚಿನ ಆಯ್ಕೆಗಳಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಸೀಮಿತ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳನ್ನೇ ಬಳಸಿ ಅವರು ಬದುಕಿ ಜಯಿಸಬೇಕಿತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ತಾವು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ್ದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಬಲಿಕೊಡಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಕ್ರೂಬನ್ನರು ಹಟ ಹಿಡಿದು ಗೆದ್ದರು. ಸುಸ್ಥಿರ ಕೃಷಿ ಪದ್ಧತಿ ಅಳವಡಿಸಿ ಕೊಂಡರು. ಪಟ್ಟೋಲು, ಡೀಸಲ್ಲು, ರಸಗೊಬ್ಬರಗಳ ಬೆಂಬಲವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ವ್ಯವಸಾಯ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ದೇಶ ಉಳಿಸಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಇಷ್ಟು ಸಾಲದಾಯಿತು. ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಏನಾದರೂ ಬೇಕಿತ್ತು. ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ಮಾಡುವಂತೆ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಪದಾರ್ಥಗಳ ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡುವುದು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿರ ಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಬದಲಿಗೆ ಮಾನವ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲವನ್ನು ರಫ್ತು ಮಾಡಿ ದರು. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ತಜ್ಞರಾದ ವೈದ್ಯರನ್ನು ಪ್ರಪಂಚದಾ ದ್ಯಂತ ಸೇವೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಲೆಂದು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದರು. ಆ ಮೂಲಕ ವಿದೇಶಿ ವಿನಿಮಯವನ್ನು ಗಳಿಸಿದರು! ಹೀಗೆ ಹಲವು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಸಿ ಕ್ರೂಬಾ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಂಡು ಸಮರ್ಥ ಮಾದರಿಯಾಯಿತು.

ಎರಡನೆಯ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯೆಂಬ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆ ಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತದ್ದು. ಕೇವಲ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮಾತ್ರದಿಂದ ಸಮಾಜವಾದವು ಉಳಿದುಬರುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬ ಅರಿವು ಈಚಿನ ದಶಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಚಿಂತಕರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡ ತೊಡಗಿದೆ. ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯೆಂಬುದು ತೀರದ ಹಸಿವೆ ಯಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಅನುಭವದಿಂದ ಪಾಠ ಕಲಿತಿ ದ್ದಾರೆ. ಸೋವಿಯತ್ ರಷ್ಯಾ ಹಾಗೂ ಪೂರ್ವ ಯುರೋ ಪಿನ ಸಮತಾವಾದಿ ದೇಶಗಳು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟತೆ ಹಾಗೂ ದುರಾ ಡಳಿತದಿಂದಾಗಿ ತರಗೆಲೆಗಳಂತೆ ಉದುರಿಬಿದ್ದದ್ದನ್ನು ಅವರು ಕಣ್ಣಾರೆ ಕಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇತ್ತ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಪಕ್ಷಗಳು ಹೆಸರಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಸಮಾಜ ವಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಉಳಿದು ಮಿಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಕೈಗೊಂಬೆ ಗಳಾಗಿವೆ. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಚಿಂತಕರನ್ನು ಗಂಭೀರವಾದ ಮರುಚಿಂತನೆಗೆ ಹಚ್ಚಿವೆ.

ಇನ್ನು ಧರ್ಮದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ. ಬಹಳ ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ, ಧರ್ಮ ವೆಂಬುದು ಬಡವರ ಅಫೀಮು ಎಂದು ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಗಳು ಜರಿದಿದ್ದರೆ, ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಗಳು ಅನೈತಿಕ ರಾಕ್ಷಸರು ಎಂದು ಪುರೋಹಿತಶಾಹಿಯು ಪ್ರಚಾರ ನಡೆಸಿತ್ತು. ಎರಡೂ ಅತಿರೇಕದ ಮಾತಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಕೇವಲ ಪುರೋಹಿತಶಾಹಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅಥವಾ ರಾಜಕಾರಣ ವೆಂಬುದು ಕೇವಲ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಪ್ರಚೋದಿತ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿ ವೃದ್ಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗಟ್ಟಿಯಾದ ನೈತಿಕ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆ. ನೀತಿ ನಿಯಮಗಳ ಒತ್ತಾಸೆಯಿರದೆ ಯಾವ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯೂ ಬಹಳ ಕಾಲ ಆರೋಗ್ಯಕರವಾಗಿ ಉಳಿಯ ಬರಲಾರದು.

ಇತ್ತ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳೂ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಯ ಗಾಳಿ ಬೀಸತೊಡಗಿದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ, ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಅನೇಕ ಬಡ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚರ್ಚನ ಒಳಗಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಬಂಡಾ ಯದ ಧ್ವನಿ ಮೇಲೆದ್ದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಪಾದ್ರಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಭಾವಶಾಲಿಯಾದ ಒಂದು ಗುಂಪು ಕ್ರಿಸ್ತ ಬಡವರ ಪ್ರಭು ಎಂದು ಸಾರತೊಡಗಿದೆ. ದಿಡುಗಡಿಯ ದೈವಿಕತೆ ಅಥವಾ ಬಂಡಾಯದ ದೈವಿಕತೆ (ಲಿಬರೇಶನ್ ಥಿಯಾಲಜಿ) ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಹೊಸ ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವೊಂದು ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇಲೆದ್ದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ದಿಡುಗಡೆಯ ದೈವಿಕತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಂಬಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟ ಪಾದ್ರಿಗಳನೇಕರು ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಕಾರಿಗಳೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿ ತಮ್ಮದೇಶ ಗಳ ಸರ್ವಾಧಿಕಾರಿ ಆಡಳಿತಗಾರರು, ಮಿಲಿಟರಿ ಆಡಳಿ ತಗಾರರ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಸೆಣಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಂತಹ ಸೆಣಸಾಟಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಗಳು ಜೀವದಾನ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಕೂಡ.

ದಿಡುಗಡೆಯ ದೈವಿಕತೆಯಂಬುದು ಈಗ ಅದೆಷ್ಟು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಧ್ವನಿಯಾಗಿದೆಯೆಂದರೆ, ಕ್ಯಾಥೊಲಿಕ್ ಧರ್ಮದ ವಿಶ್ವಗುರು ಯಾನೆ ಪೋಪರೇ ಈ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಿಂದ ಬಂದವ ರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈಗಿನ ಪೋಪರ ಪ್ರಗತಿಪರ ನಿಲುವುಗಳು ವಿಶ್ವದಾದ್ಯಂತ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞಾವಂತರ ಗಮನ ಸೆಳೆಯತೊಡಗಿವೆ. ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳ ಇತರ ಧರ್ಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹ ದೇವರು ಬಡವರ ಪ್ರಭು ಎಂಬ ನಂಬುಗೆಗೆ ಇಂಬು ಸಿಗತೊಡಗಿದೆ. ಭಾರತದ ಅನೇಕ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಮಠಾಧೀಶರು ಬಡವರ ಪರವಾದ ಹೋರಾಟಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಚಳವಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸತೊಡಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಈ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಭಾರತಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊಸತಲ್ಲ. ಒಂದರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಮೂಲ ಆಶಯ ಹಾಗೂ ಧರ್ಮದ ಮೂಲ ಆಶಯಗಳನ್ನು ಬೆಸೆಯುವ ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಭಾರತ ದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಶುರುವಾಯಿತು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರೆ ಉತ್ಪ್ರೇಕ್ಷೆ ಯಾಗಲಾರದು. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ನೇತೃತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಮಹಾ ಹತುಶಾಹಿ ವಿರೋಧಿ ಹೋರಾಟಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂತಹದ್ದೊಂದು ಆಯಾಮವಿತ್ತು. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಒಂದು ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವ ವಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಇತ್ತ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ನೋಡಿದಾಗ ಅಪ್ಪಟ ರಾಜಕಾರಣಿಯಾಗಿಯೂ, ಅತ್ತ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ನೋಡಿದಾಗ ಅಪ್ಪಟ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯಾಗಿಯೂ ಅವರು ಕಾಣಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಮೂಲ ಆಶಯವಾದ ಸಮಾನತೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಹಕಾರ ಮನೋಭಾವವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಜೀವನಶೈಲಿಯೊಳಗೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಆಶ್ರಮ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಯೊಳಗೆ ಅಂತರ್ಗತವಾಗಿಸಿ ಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರು. ತಾವು ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಮೊದಲ ಆಶ್ರಮಕ್ಕೆ 'ಟಾಲ್‌ಸ್ಟಾಯ್ ಫಾರ್ಮ್' ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಹೆಸರಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರು!

ವಿಶ್ವವಿಖ್ಯಾತ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಗಳನೇಕರು ಗಾಂಧಿಅವರ ಸ್ನೇಹಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಮಾರ್ಗದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಭಾವಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಜೊತೆ ಒಡನಾಡಿದ ಎಡಪಂಥೀಯರ ಯಾದಿ ದೊಡ್ಡದಿದೆ.

ನಾವು, ಇಂದಿನ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಗಳು ಗಾಂಧಿ ಅವರಿಂದ ಕಲಿಯಬೇಕಾದದ್ದು ಬಹಳಷ್ಟಿದೆ. ಅವರು ಯಾರನ್ನೂ, ಏನನ್ನೂ ತಿರಸ್ಕರಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸ್‌ವಾದದ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಹೇಳುವುದಾದರೆ, ವರ್ಗ ಸಂಘರ್ಷವನ್ನು ಅವರು ಪ್ರಚೋದಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಇತ್ಯಾತ್ಮಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ನಂಬಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರು. ಸಮಾಜವಾದವೂ ಕೇವಲ ವಿಮರ್ಶಾ ತ್ಮಕ ಮಾರ್ಗವಾಗದೆ ರಚನಾತ್ಮಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಂಡರೆ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಹಚ್ಚಿನ ಶಕ್ತಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕುತ್ತದೆ.

ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಬಡವರ ಪರವಾದ ನಾಯಕರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಬಡವನೇ ಆದ ನಾಯಕರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ಬದುಕು ಇತರರ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ಬದುಕಿಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸರಳವಾ ದದ್ದಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಅವರ ಸುತ್ತ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದ ನೂರಾರು ನಾಯಕರು, ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರಿಗೆ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಅವರ ಗುಣ ಅಂಟಿಕೊಂಡಿತ್ತು, ಕೆಲ ಕಾಲವಾದರೂ ಅಂಟಿ ಕೊಂಡಿತು. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳೂ ಈ ಮಾತು ಸಲ್ಲುತ್ತದೆ. ಕೆಲಕಾಲವಾದರೂ ಈ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ದೈನಂದಿನ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾನತೆ, ಸರಳತೆ, ಸಹಕಾರ ಮನೋಭಾವವನ್ನು ಅಳವಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದವು. ಇವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಮೂಲತತ್ವಗಳೇ ಆಗಿವೆ. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ಪಾದಿಸಿದ ಸತ್ಯ, ಅಹಿಂಸೆ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ತತ್ವಗಳು ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ತತ್ವವೂ ಹೌದು ಅತ್ತ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ತತ್ವವೂ ಹೌದು. ಗಾಂಧೀಜಿ ಇತ್ತ ದೇವರ ಮೇಲೂ ನಂಬಿಕೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರು, ಅತ್ತ ದೇಶದ ಮೇಲೂ ನಂಬಿಕೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರು. ಒಬ್ಬ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯು ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಚಾರ ಮಾಡುವ ರೀತಿ ಕೂಡ ಇದೇ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆಯಲ್ಲವೆ?

ಇಷ್ಟಕ್ಕೂ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಗೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಗೂ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಿರ ಬೇಕೆ? ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ವಿವೇಕಾನಂದರನ್ನು ನೀವು ಏನೆಂದು ಕರೆ ಯುತ್ತೀರಿ? ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯೆಂದೇ, ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಯೆಂದೆ? ಅನೇಕ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಮತಾವಾದಿ ನಾಯಕ ರನ್ನು ಕಣ್ಣಾರೆ ಕಂಡಿದ್ದೇನೆ. ಅವರ ಬದುಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿ ಬದುಕಿನ ಸರಳತೆ, ಅಂತರಿಕ ಪರಿಶುದ್ಧತೆಗಳು ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಿದ್ದವು. ಅತ್ತ ಅನೇಕ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತ ನೊಬ್ಬನ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಬದ್ಧತೆ, ಬಡವರ ಬಗೆಗಿನ, ಪರಿ ಸರದ ಬಗೆಗಿನ ಕಳಕಳಿ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಸನ್ಯಾಸ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಮಾಜವಾದವನ್ನು ಒಡಮು ಬೇರೆ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾದ ಅಗತ್ಯ ವಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಿರುವ ಇಂದಿನ ಸಂದರ್ಭ ಅಪಾಯಕಾರಿ ಯಾದದ್ದು. ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯೇ ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಯೂ ಆಗುವ, ಸಮಾಜವಾದಿಯೇ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯಷ್ಟು ಸರಳವಾಗಿ ಬದುಕುವ ಕಾಲ ಬರಲಿ. ಸಮಾಜವಾದದ ಅರ್ಥ ವಿಸ್ತರಣೆಯ ಉದ್ದೇಶ ಇದೇ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರೌಢಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಸಚಿವ ಕಿಮ್ಮನೆ ರತ್ನಾಕರ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟನೆ

ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಅನುತ್ತೀರ್ಣಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರೋಧ

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: 'ಕಲಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿರುವ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಶಾಲಾ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅನುತ್ತೀರ್ಣಗೊಳಿಸುವ ಕೇಂದ್ರದ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಬೆಂಬಲ ವಿಲ್ಲ' ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರೌಢ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಸಚಿವ ಕಿಮ್ಮನೆ ರತ್ನಾಕರ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸಿದರು.

ಕೆಪಿಸಿಸಿ ಕಚೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬುಧವಾರ ಸುದ್ದಿಗಾರರ ಜೊತೆ ಮಾತನಾಡಿದ ಅವರು, 'ಕಲಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿರುವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದೇ ತರಗತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪ ನೂತನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಂದಲೂ ಸಲಹೆ ಕೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಕೆಲ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳು ಸಹಮತ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸಿವೆ. ಆದರೆ, ಈ ನೀತಿಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಬೆಂಬಲ ನೀಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದಲಾಗಿ ಏಳನೇ ತರಗತಿಯ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಜನವರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ ನಡೆಸಿ, ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿರುವ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಮೂರು ತಿಂಗಳ ವಿಶೇಷ ತರಬೇತಿ ನೀಡಿ, ಮುಂದಿನ ತರಗತಿಗೆ ಕಳಿಸುವುದು ಸೂಕ್ತ ಎಂಬ ಸಲಹೆ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ' ಎಂದರು.

'ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ಶಾಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪೂರ್ವ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಶಾಲೆಗಳನ್ನು ತೆರೆಯುವ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಇಲಾಖೆ ಚಿಂತನೆ ನಡೆಸಿದೆ. ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಎಲ್‌ಕೆಜಿ, ಯುಕೆಜಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಮಗುವನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೆ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಲೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಲು ಪೋಷಕರು ಮನಸು ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗಾಗಿ ಸರ್ಕಾರಿ ಶಾಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಪೂರ್ವ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ತರಗತಿ ಆರಂಭಿಸಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವುದು ನಮ್ಮ ಉದ್ದೇಶ. ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಅಂಗನವಾಡಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರನ್ನೇ ಬಳಸಬಹುದು' ಎಂದರು.

ಕ್ರಿಮಿನಲ್ ಪ್ರಕರಣ ದಾಖಲು: 'ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಕಾಯ್ದೆಯನ್ನು ದುರುಪಯೋಗ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡವರ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಕ್ರಿಮಿನಲ್ ಪ್ರಕರಣ ದಾಖಲಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು' ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ಆರ್‌ಟಿಇ ಕಾಯ್ದೆಯಡಿ ಸೀಟು ಪಡೆದ ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಹೆತ್ತವರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮಾಹಿತಿ ಬಹಿರಂಗಪಡಿಸಲು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಇಲಾಖೆಗೆ ಸೂಚನೆ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದರು.

ಆದಾಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸುಳ್ಳು ಮಾಹಿತಿ ನೀಡಿದವರ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಕ್ರಿಮಿನಲ್ ಪ್ರಕರಣ ದಾಖಲಿಸಲು ಇಲಾಖೆ ಚಿಂತನೆ ನಡೆಸಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ವಾರದೊಳಗೆ ಶೂ ವಿತರಣೆ

ಒಂದು ವಾರದೊಳಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರೌಢಶಾಲಾ ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಶೂ ಖರೀದಿಗೆ ಹಣ ಬಿಡುಗಡೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಸಚಿವ ಕಿಮ್ಮನೆ ರತ್ನಾಕರ ಮಾಹಿತಿ ನೀಡಿದರು.



'ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಶಾಲಾ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ₹250 ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರೌಢಶಾಲಾ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ₹275 ರ ದರದಲ್ಲಿ ತಲಾ ಒಂದು ಜೊತೆ ಸಿಮಿ ಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಾಸ್ ಶೂ (ಚರ್ಮದ ಮತ್ತು ಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಾಸ್ ಮಿಶ್ರಿತ) ಖರೀದಿಸುವಂತೆ ಸೂಚನೆ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಾಯೋಜಕರು ಸಿಕ್ಕರೆ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಎರಡು ಜೊತೆ ಶೂ ನೀಡುವ ಸ್ಥಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಶಾಲೆಗಳಿಗೆ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಮಲೆನಾಡು, ಕರಾವಳಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಳೆಗಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಚರ್ಮದ ಶೂ ಬಳಕೆಗೆ ಯೋಗ್ಯವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೇಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಾಸ್ ಶೂ ಬಳಸುವುದು ಆರೋಗ್ಯಕರವಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗಾಗಿ ಸೆಮಿ ಕ್ಯಾನ್ವಾಸ್ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಮುಂದಿನ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಯಾ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳ ಅಗತ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾದ ಶೂ ನೀಡುವ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಚಿಂತಿಸಲಾಗುವುದು' ಎಂದರು.



ಪ್ರೌಢಶಾಲಾ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ಮ
ಚಾಂಪಿಯನ್‌ಷಿಪ್‌ನ ಬಹುಮಾನ ವಿ
ಕುಮಾರಿ, ಆಲ್‌ ಕೆರಿಯರ್ ಆಕಾ
ವಲಯ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಸ್ಥಾನ
ಮುದಲಿಯಾರ್ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸಿದ್ದರು

ಕಾವೇರಿ

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: ಕಾವೇರಿ ನದಿ
ಉಗಮ, ಹರಿವು ಮತ್ತು ಅದು ಸಮು
ದಲ್ಲಿ ಲೀನವಾಗುವವರೆಗಿನ ಹಾದಿ
ಮಾಹಿತಿಗಳಲ್ಲ ಒಂದೇ ಕಡೆ ಸಿಗುವಂ
ದ್ದರೆ? ಆ ಮಾಹಿತಿ, ಬರಹದ ರೂಪದ
ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ, ಬಹು ಮಾಧ್ಯಮ ರೂ
ದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಗವಂತಾದರೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ಚೆಂ
ಅಲ್ಲವೇ!

ಎಲ್ಲವೂ ಅಂದುಕೊಂಡಂತೆ ನ
ದರೆ, ಕಾವೇರಿ ನದಿ ಕುರಿತು ಈ ಎ
ಮಾಹಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡುವ ಗ್ಯಾ
ಯೊಂದು ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ವಸ್ತುಪ್ರದರ್ಶ
ಮೈದಾನ ಆವರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಇನ್ನು ಆ
ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆರಂಭವಾಗಲಿದೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಲ
ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ ರಾ
ಪ್ರವಾಸೋದ್ಯಮ ಇಲಾಖೆ ಮ
ನ್ಯಾಷನಲ್ ಅಕಾಡೆಮಿ ಆಫ್ ಸೈನ್ಸ
ಇಂಡಿಯಾ (ಎನ್‌ಎಎಸ್‌ಐ) ನಡು
ವಿಧಾನಸೌಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಬುಧವಾರ ಒಪ್ಪಂ
ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಯಿತು.

ಪ್ರವಾಸೋದ್ಯಮ ಸಚಿವ ಆರ್.
ದೇಶಕಾಂಡೆ, ಎನ್‌ಎಎಸ್‌ಐ ಅಧ್ಯ
ಮಂಜು ಶರ್ಮ, ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಜ್ಞಾ
ಆಯೋಗದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಡಾ.ಕೆ. ಕಸ್ತೂ

'ಎಫ್‌ಐಆರ್

ಹಾಸನ: ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ಇಲಾಖೆ ಮಹ
ಯರು, ವೃದ್ಧರಿಗಾಗಿ ಎಫ್.ಐ.ಆರ
(ಫಸ್ಟ್ ಇನ್ಫಾರ್ಮೇಷನ್ ರಿಪೋರ್ಟ್) ಎಂ
ಹೊಸ ಆ್ಯಪ್ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪಡಿಸಿದ
ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿ ಸಿದ್ದರಾಮಯ್ಯ ಅವ
ಗುರುವಾರ ಹಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಚಾಲ
ನೀಡಲಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ನಾಗರಿಕರು, ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ವೃದ್ಧ
ಹಾಗೂ ಮಹಿಳೆಯರಿಗೆ ಆತಿ ಶೀಘ್ರದ
ಪೊಲೀಸ್ ಸಹಾಯಹಸ್ತ ಚಾಚು
ಉದ್ದೇಶದಿಂದ ಈ ಆ್ಯಪ್ ರೂಪಿಸಲಾ
ಗಿದ್ದು, ಬಳಕೆದಾರರು ತಮ್ಮ ಆಂಡ್ರಾಯ್ಡ
ಫೋನ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಇದನ್ನು ಡೌನ್‌ಲೋ

ಹೊಸ ಸದಸ್ಯರ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳಿಂದ ವಿಧಾನ ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿಗೆ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಆಯ್ಕೆಯಾದ 25 ಸದಸ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್‌ನ ರಫೀ ಆಚಾರ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಉಳಿದವರು ಬುಧವಾರ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ವಚನ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿದರು.

ಬಿಜೆಪಿಯಿಂದ ಟಿಕೆಟ್ ಸಿಗದೆ ಬಂಡಾಯ ಅಭ್ಯರ್ಥಿಯಾಗಿ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಿಸಿ ಗೆಲುವು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಬಸನಗೌಡ ಪಾಟೀಲ ಯತ್ನಾಳ ಅವರು ಗೋಮಾತೆಯ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ಉಳಿದ ಸದಸ್ಯರು ಭಗವಂತನ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ವಚನ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿದರು.

ಮಂಡ್ಯ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಸದಸ್ಯ, ಜೆಡಿಎಸ್‌ನ ಅಪ್ಪಾಜಿಗೌಡ ಅವರು ಪಕ್ಷದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ದೇವೇಗೌಡರ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ವಚನ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿದರು. ರಫೀ ಆಚಾರ್ ಅವರು ಧನುರ್ಮಾಸ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ ಎಂಬ ಕಾರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಮಾಣ ವಚನ ಸ್ವೀಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ ಎನ್ನಲಾಗಿದೆ. ವಿಧಾನ ಪರಿಷತ್ ಸಭಾಪತಿ ಡಿ.ಎಚ್. ಶಂಕರಮೂರ್ತಿ, ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿ ಸಿದ್ದರಾಮಯ್ಯ ಮತ್ತಿತರರು ಪಾಲ್ಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದರು.

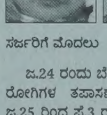
ಬಿಎಸ್‌ವೈಗೆ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷತೆ: ಯತ್ನಾಳ ಒತ್ತಾಯ

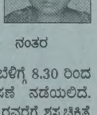
ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: 'ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಘಟಕದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಬಿ.ಎಸ್. ಯಡಿಯೂರಪ್ಪ ಅವರಿಗೆ ನೀಡಬೇಕು. ಮುಂಬರುವ ವಿಧಾನಸಭಾ ಚುನಾವಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಯಡಿಯೂರಪ್ಪ ಪಕ್ಷದ ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿ ಅಭ್ಯರ್ಥಿ ಎಂದು ಘೋಷಿಸಬೇಕು' ಎಂದು ಯತ್ನಾಳ ಒತ್ತಾಯಿಸಿದರು. 'ಈ ಆಗ್ರಹಕ್ಕೆ ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ಮುಖಂಡರು ಒಪ್ಪಿದರೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಪಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಮರಳುವ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಚಿಂತಿಸುವೆ' ಎಂದು ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮದ ನಂತರ ಸುದ್ದಿಗಾರರ ಬಳಿ ಹೇಳಿದರು.

'ಬಿಜೆಪಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಪ್ರಹ್ಲಾದ ಜೋಶಿ ಮತ್ತು ವಿಧಾನಸಭೆ ವಿರೋಧ ಪಕ್ಷದ ನಾಯಕ ಜಗದೀಶ ಶೆಟ್ಟರ್ ಅವರು ಬಿಜೆಪಿಯ ನಕಲಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರು. ನಾನು ಬಿಜೆಪಿಯ ಅಸಲಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ಉಚಿತ ಪ್ಲಾಸ್ಟಿಕ್ ಸರ್ಜರಿ ಶಿಬಿರ

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ





ಸರ್ಜರಿಗೆ ಮೊದಲು ನಂತರ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: 'ಫ್ರೆಂಡ್ಸ್ ವೆಲ್‌ಫೇರ್ ಆಗರ್ನೈಸೇಷನ್' ಸ್ವಯಂಸೇವಾ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯು ನಗರದಲ್ಲಿ ಜ.24 ರಿಂದ ಫೆ.3 ರವರೆಗೆ ಉಚಿತ ಪ್ಲಾಸ್ಟಿಕ್ ತರಬೇತಿ ಶಿಬಿರ ಹಮ್ಮಿಕೊಂಡಿದೆ.

ಸೀಳುತುಟಿ, ಸೀಳು ಮೇಲುದವಡೆ, ಸುಟ್ಟ ಗಾಯಗಳ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಯಿಂದ ಬಳಲುತ್ತಿರುವವರಿಗೆ ಶಿಬಿರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಚಿತ ಶಸ್ತ್ರಚಿಕಿತ್ಸೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುವುದು. ಜರ್ಮನಿಯ ವೈದ್ಯರ ತಂಡ ಚಿಕಿತ್ಸೆ ನೀಡಲಿದೆ. ಮಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರದ ಮಾಗೋಸಾ ರಸ್ತೆಯ ನಾರಾಯಣ ಸೂಪರ್ ಸ್ಪೆಷಾಲಿಟಿ ಆಸ್ಪತ್ರೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿಬಿರ ನಡೆಯಲಿದೆ.

ಜ.24 ರಂದು ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 8.30 ರಿಂದ ರೋಗಿಗಳ ತಪಾಸಣೆ ನಡೆಯಲಿದೆ. ಜ.25 ರಿಂದ ಫೆ.3 ರವರೆಗೆ ಶಸ್ತ್ರಚಿಕಿತ್ಸೆ ನಡೆಸಲಾಗುವುದು ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ ತಿಳಿಸಿದೆ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಮಾಹಿತಿಗೆ ಮಹೇಂದ್ರ ಕುಮಾರ್ ಜೈನ್- 99801 73477. ಇಮೇಲ್ ವಿಳಾಸ: fwobanga-lore@gamial.com

13 ಲಕ್ಷ ಟನ್ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯದ ಗೋದಾಮುಗಳ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ

ರಾಯಚೂರು: 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕೃಷಿ ವಿಕಾಸ ಯೋಜನೆಯಡಿ (ಆರ್‌ಕೆವಿವೈ) ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ 13 ಲಕ್ಷ ಟನ್ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯದ ಗೋದಾಮುಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಮಾಡಲು ನಬಾರ್ಡ್‌ನಿಂದ ₹800 ಕೋಟಿ ಸಾಲ ಪಡೆದು ಕಾಮಗಾರಿ ಕೈಗೆತ್ತಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಕ್ರಮವಹಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ' ಎಂದು ಸಹಕಾರ ಸಚಿವ ಎಚ್.ಎಸ್. ಮಹದೇವ ಪ್ರಸಾದ್ ಹೇಳಿದರು.

ಬುಧವಾರ ಸುದ್ದಿಗಾರರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಮಾತನಾಡಿದ ಅವರು, 'ಆರ್‌ಕೆವಿವೈ ಯೋಜನೆಯಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಎಪಿಎಂಸಿ ಮತ್ತು ಟಿಎಪಿಸಿಎಂಎಸ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಗೋದಾಮುಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ ಮಾಡಲು ಅವಕಾಶ ನೀಡಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಕೇಂದ್ರ ಸರ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಪತ್ರ ಬರೆಯಲಾಗಿದೆ' ಎಂದರು.

'ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೆ 177 ಪಿಎಲ್‌ಡಿ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್‌ಗಳು ಸುಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಬಂದಿವೆ. ಶೇ 80 ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶೇ 70ರಷ್ಟು ಸಾಲ ವಸೂಲಾತಿ ನಡೆದಿದೆ. ₹100 ಕೋಟಿ ವಹಿವಾಟು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಬ್ಯಾಂಕ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ ನಬಾರ್ಡ್‌ನಿಂದ ₹220 ಕೋಟಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚುವರಿ ಸಾಲ ಬಿಡುಗಡೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದೆ' ಎಂದರು.

'ರೈತರಿಗೆ ದೀರ್ಘಾವಧಿ ಸಾಲ ನೀಡಲು ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕ್ರಮ ಕೈಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. 14 ಲಕ್ಷ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ಸಾಲ ನೀಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ವರ್ಷದ ಅಂತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ 25 ಲಕ್ಷ ರೈತರಿಗೆ ಸಾಲ ನೀಡುವ ಗುರಿ ಹೊಂದಲಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದರು.

ಪಂಚಾಯಿತಿ : ರಿಟ್ ವಿಚಾರಣೆ ಇಂದು

ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ ವಾರ್ತೆ

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು: ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಮತ್ತು ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕು ಪಂಚಾಯಿತಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳ ಪುನರ್ವಿಂಗಡಣೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಮೀಸಲು ನಿಗದಿ ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಚುನಾವಣಾ ಆಯೋಗ ಹೊರಡಿಸಿರುವ ಅಧಿಸೂಚನೆ ಪ್ರಶ್ನಿಸಿ 64ಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ರಿಟ್ ಅರ್ಜಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೈಕೋರ್ಟ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ದಾಖಲಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಅರ್ಜಿಗಳು ಗುರುವಾರ (ಜ.7) ನ್ಯಾಯಮೂರ್ತಿ ಎಸ್.ಅಬ್ದುಲ್ ನಜೀರ್ ಅವರ ಏಕಸದಸ್ಯ ನ್ಯಾಯಪೀಠದ ಮುಂದೆ ವಿಚಾರಣೆಗೆ ಬರಲಿವೆ. **ಸಾಂವಿಧಾನಿಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ:** ಬಾಗಲಕೋಟೆ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ರಾಂಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಪಂಚಾಯಿತಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಬಲರಾಮ ಲಮಾಣಿ ಎಂಬುವವರು, ಮೀಸಲು ನಿಗದಿ ಸಾಂವಿಧಾನಿಕ ಬಾಹುರವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ದೂರಿ ಅರ್ಜಿ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

'ಮೀಸಲು ನಿಗದಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪಂಚಾಯತ್ ರಾಜ್ ಕಾಯ್ದೆ-1993ಕ್ಕೆ ತರಲಾಗಿರುವ ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿಯನ್ನು ರದ್ದುಗೊಳಿಸಬೇಕು' ಎಂಬುದು ಅವರ ಮನವಿ.

'ಆಯೋಗವು ಹೊರಡಿಸಿರುವ ಈ ಮೀಸಲು ಸಂವಿಧಾನದ 243-ಡಿ ಅನುಚ್ಛೇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದರ ಅನುಸಾರ ಪಂಚಾಯಿತಿಯ ಎಲ್ಲ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಐದು ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ ಆವರ್ತನ (ರೊಟೇಷನ್) ಬದಲಾಗಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಆಯೋಗವು ಸಂವಿಧಾನದ ಈ ಆಶಯಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರತಿ 10 ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ ಆವರ್ತನ ನಿಗದಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಅಧಿಸೂಚನೆ ಹೊರಡಿಸಿದೆ' ಎಂಬುದು ಅರ್ಜಿದಾರರ ಆರೋಪವಾಗಿದೆ.

'ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲ ಒಂದು ಕಡೆ ಒಂದೇ ಸಮುದಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಮೀಸಲು ನಿಗದಿ ಮಾಡುವುದರಿಂದ ಉಳಿದ ಸಮುದಾಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಅನ್ಯಾಯವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಸಂವಿಧಾನದ ಅನುಚ್ಛೇದ 14ರ ಉಲ್ಲಂಘನೆ' ಎಂದು ದೂರಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ಮತ್ತು ತರಬೇತಿ ಇಲಾಖೆ
ಆಯುಕ್ತರ ಕಛೇರಿ, ಕೌಶಲ್ಯ ಭವನ, ಡೈರಿ ಸರ್ಕಲ್, ಬಸ್‌ರಿಯಾಲ್ಟು ರಸ್ತೆ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-560 029
ದೂರವಾಣಿ: 080-25189100,105 ಇ-ಮೇಲ್: ddpurchase.detkar@rediffmail.com
ವೆಬ್‌ಸೈಟ್: www.emptrg.kar.nic.in
ಸಂ: ಉತ್ತರ/ತ/ಖರೀದಿ-5/ವಿವ-18/2015-16 ದಿನಾಂಕ: 06-01-2016

ಬೃಹತ್ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಮಹಾನಗರ ಪಾಲಿಕೆ
ಕಾರ್ಯಪಾಲಕ ಅಧಿಯಂತರವರ ಕಛೇರಿ,
ರಸ್ತೆ ಮೂಲಸೌಕರ್ಯ-ಟಿಇಸಿ
ಎನ್.ಆರ್. ಚೌಕ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು – 560 002
ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ: ಕಾಅ/ರಮೂ(ಟಿಇಸಿ)/ಬೆಂಂಪ್/15/2015-16 ದಿನಾಂಕ: 05.01.2016
ಬೆಂಂಪರ್‌ಗಾಗಿ ಅಹ್ವಾನ (ಎವಿಫೆಟ)

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರ
ಲೋಕೋಪಯೋಗಿ ಬಂದರು ಮತ್ತು ಒಳನಾಡು ಜಲಸಾರಿಗೆ ಇಲಾಖೆ
ಕಾರ್ಯಪಾಲಕ ಇಂಜಿನಿಯರ್‌ರವರ ಕಛೇರಿ, ಮೈಸೂರು ವಿಭಾಗ, ಮೈಸೂರು
www.eemys@kpwd.gov.in ದೂರವಾಣಿ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ / ಫ್ಯಾಕ್ಸ್ ನಂ. : 08212420810
ಅಲ್ಪಾವಧಿ ಟೆಂಡರು ಬೆಂದರು ಅಧಿಸೂಚನೆ ನಂ. 65/2015-16/ ದಿನಾಂಕ : 05.01.2016

The Hindu
Jan 1, 2016

Labour's love lost

While India Inc. clamours for labour reforms, the reality, as amply demonstrated at Maruti's plant in Haryana, is that the space for workers to truly unionise is practically non-existent

G. SAMPATH

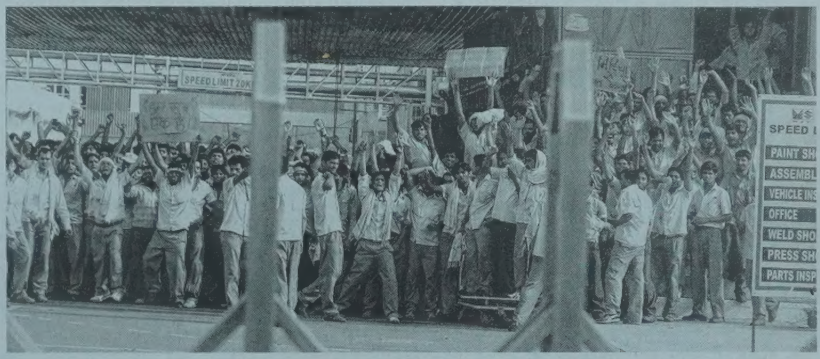


At a public event during his recent visit to India, French economist Thomas Piketty drew attention to the "hypocrisy" of the Indian elite in the way it wanted to pursue capitalist development — obsessed with growth, but indifferent to welfare. Nowhere is this hypocrisy more evident than in the debate over labour reforms.

The prevailing wisdom is as follows: India has too many antiquated labour laws which hamper growth and investment. The need of the hour is a brisk pruning of this unruly thicket of pieces of legislation into a handful of elegant laws that make it easy for companies to hire and fire as they wish, and pay whatever salaries they can get away with. Once such laws are in place, foreign investment will flood into India, manufacturing will shoot up, and millions of Indians will find employment and "make in India" happily ever after.

From an industrial relations perspective, turning this corporate dream into reality requires two things: one, trade unions must be neutralised; two, contractualisation (temping/casual labour) must become the legal norm rather than illegal supplement for regular work.

Both these are effectively a reality in today's India. But our legislative framework militates against it, leaving the capitalist class vulnerable to being challenged by the working classes on legal grounds. It is in this context that the incident of July 18, 2012 at Maruti's Manesar plant assumes historic significance, for India's working class as well as for the investor class.



NO ROADBLOCK: "Not surprisingly, there has been a persistent corporate chorus demanding a labour regime that allows companies to freely hire temporary workers even for core operations. And the Modi government is eager to deliver." File picture of workers at Maruti's Manesar plant on strike. — PHOTO: KAMAL NARANG

> After liberalisation, most strikes by workers have been not for wage hikes but for the right to form a union

The context

Since Independence, trade unions in India have mostly fought modest and pragmatic battles for outcomes such as higher wages and better working conditions. But this changed in the 1990s. Gurgaon-based labour activist Shyambir points out that after liberalisation, most strikes by workers have been not for wage hikes but for the right to form a union.

The right to collective bargaining is enshrined in our Constitution. Article 19(1)(c) grants all citizens the right to form a union. On top of it, we also have a Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970 that prohibits employment of contract workers for core industrial work. And yet, the Indian state has either stood by or actively colluded while employers tried every tactic, including illegal termination, to prevent union formation, and kept hiring temporary workers for regular jobs.

In the National Capital Region's Okhla-Faridabad-Noida-Gurgaon-Manesar industrial belt, it is common to find workers toiling on 12- to 16-hour shifts for as little as Rs.9,000 a month, for years together. It raises a fundamental question: whose interests have the labour laws served all these years? Evidence suggests that it is not the labouring classes.

And yet, oddly enough, the clarion call for labour reforms is coming not from the working classes but from the corporate class. One reason for this could be that with global capitalism yet to recover from the shock delivered in 2008, the only way out of the crisis is to tighten the screws on labour to extract more value.

In such a scenario, who wants a labour class feeling empowered to fight for its entitlements? From this perspective, the Manesar conflagration was a decisive event that has, at least for now, beaten back labour and put capital firmly in control in an age-old conflict.

The background

To quickly summarise the incident of July 18, 2012: an outbreak of rioting at the Manesar plant left one HR executive dead and 40 others injured. The police arrested 147 Maruti workers and slapped murder charges on all of them. The dominant narrative about this event is one of labour militancy gone wild, holding it responsible for the loss of life and property.

What has not attracted critical scrutiny is the final outcome of the larger conflict between labour and management of which this incident was the culmination: the termination, in one go, of 546 permanent workers and 1,800 temporary workers. Such a mass retrenchment would be unthinkable in the normal run of things. Were we to ask who gained the most from this sorry episode, the answer is definitely not the worker.

The provenance of this incident goes back more than a year, to June 2011. That's when Maruti workers began agitating for their right to an independent union. After several months of struggle, the Maruti Suzuki Workers' Union (MSWU) was formed in early 2012. Now, the MSWU in early 2012 was a different animal from the kind of unions Indian managements were used to dealing with. It derived its power from something unprecedented in the short history of labour struggles in post-liberalisation India: a strategic unity between permanent and temporary workers. It was too dangerous a threat, one that no management would brook.

According to Shyambir, "After its formation in March 2012, right up to the incident of July 18, the main agenda of MSWU was regularisation of temporary workers. They wanted pay parity for permanent and temporary workers. Their slogan of 'Same Work, Same Pay' made them hugely popular."

Given that around 80 per cent of industrial workers in the Gurgaon-Manesar belt are hyper-exploited contract labour, this union may have made a big impact on labour mobilisations had it been allowed to flourish. With the purge of 2,300 workers that followed July 18, 2012, the threat was snuffed out.

The present scenario

By October 2012, within three months of the July clash, Maruti had set up a new system of "company temps" in place of the earlier system of hiring temporary workers through contractors. Under this regime, the temporary worker will work for six months. Then he is laid off for five months, after which he may be recalled for another six months.

Both corporate commentators and labour activists have termed this a master stroke. While the former see in this a replicable model to pre-empt labour unrest, the latter consider it a move designed to prevent unity between permanent and temporary workers by regularly churning the latter.

In September 2015, Maruti announced a salary hike of Rs.16,800, spread over three years, for permanent workers. When temporary workers agitated for a similar revision, unlike in early 2012, the permanent workers did not back them. If breaking the unity between permanent and temporary workers was the mission, it had been accomplished.

Maruti, for its part, has presented its system of "company temps" as a superior alternative. When contacted by *The Hindu*, a management source said that "the new system is superior to the contract system since it is a direct recruitment by the company. No contractor is involved, and company temps enjoy all benefits like canteen food, uniform, PF, ESI bonus, etc."

Not surprisingly, there has been a persistent corporate chorus demanding a labour regime that allows companies to freely hire temporary workers even for core operations. And the Modi government is eager to deliver.

The labour reforms on the anvil essentially boil down to two things: make it impossible to form a truly independent trade union; make it legal to keep temporary workers permanently temporary, while paying them a subsistence wage.

With the central trade unions seemingly uninterested in putting up a fight on core labour issues, independent trade unions nipped in the bud, and contract labour effectively legal, the only potential challenge that labour now poses to capital is mobilisation based on unity between permanent and contract workers. This was the weapon Maruti workers had assembled at the Manesar factory in 2012. It's the reason why they needed to be made an example of, so that India's working classes won't dare to attempt such experiments in the future.

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FROM PAGE ONE

Delhi officials go on mass leave

But Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal sent out a stern warning to the agitating officers saying the government was exploring "all options" against those who were on leave. He said the government would not tolerate corruption and insubordination. "DANICS and IAS associations in Delhi have become full-fledged B teams of the BJP," he said, accusing Prime Minister Narendra Modi of "firing" at the AAP government through the L-G and the officers.

In a series of tweets, he said time had come to replace bureaucrats with professionals and sector experts to infuse fresh energy and ideas in governance. "People will be very happy if these officers go on long leave. Government is ready to give paid leave. Governance will become hohest, smooth and efficient. Government exploring all options against officers who r on leave today. Chori aur Seenazori? Government will not tolerate corruption n insubordination. Time has come to replace bureaucrats wid professionals and sector experts. Infuse fresh energy n ideas in governance [sic]".

> 'People will be very happy if officers go on long leave... Governance will be honest & efficient'

Deputy Chief Minister Manish Sisodia also questioned the timing of the protest, calling it part of a conspiracy to ensure the failure of the odd-even scheme to be rolled out tomorrow. "The Delhi government does not need people who are not willing to work. Officers who have gone on a mass bunk can go on leave for as long as they want, a month or maybe a year. If they want we can give them transfer also," Mr. Sisodia said on the sidelines of a press conference here.

"I am not trying to say officers who have opted to go on leave do not work, but there are still many in the department who don't. We have received a number of complaints about such officers. The Aam Aadmi Party does not entertain this attitude, we are here to work for the people," he said.

Asked how the government would run if a large number of bureaucrats did not come to work, he said: "We will manage."

The DANICS officials have maintained that the appointing and disciplinary authority of DANICS officers is the President of India, who acts through the aid and advice of the Union Home Ministry. They said the Home Minister of the Delhi government had no authority to take any disciplinary action against DANICS officers as specified under the existing rules. DANICS officials are selected through civil service exams.

KOLKATA PLENUM ENDS

CPI(M) plans to con

Asks party cadres to be prepared for the upcoming

SHIV SAHAY SINGH

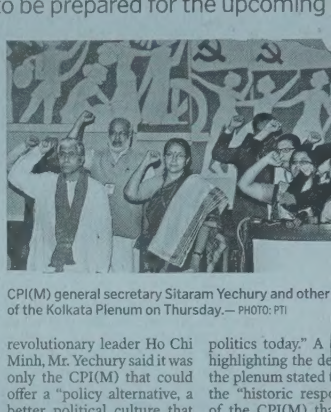
KOLKATA: The five-day plenum of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) ended here on Thursday with a resolve to strengthen the links of the party with the people for it to emerge as a revolutionary party with a mass line and combat all deviations within.

Addressing the concluding session of the plenum, CPI (M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury said: "We have to combat all deviations inside our party. We have to be steeled as communists to fight the deviations inside our party and, in doing so, the only weapon we have is party unity."

In his short speech replete with quotes from left-wing intellectual Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Vietnamese Communist revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh, Mr. Yechury said it was only the CPI(M) that could offer a "policy alternative, a better political culture that fights corruption, moral degradation and degeneration, which is rampant in Indian politics today." A

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Mr. Yechury said



CPI(M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury and other of the Kolkata Plenum on Thursday.— PHOTO: PTI

Govt. set to scrap NDC

PUJA MEHRA

NEW DELHI: After the Planning Commission, the Narendra Modi-led government is set to bring down the curtains on another Nehruvian legacy: the National Development Council (NDC).

The Cabinet will, in early January, take up its closure and also pass a resolution for transferring its powers to the Governing Council of the NITI Aayog, chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

After getting the Cabinet's approval, Prime Minister Narendra Modi will take up the resolution with Chief Ministers in a meeting of the Governing Council of the NITI Aayog, an official source told *The Hindu*.

This will be along the lines of the discussion Mr. Modi had held with Chief Ministers at the first meeting of this council about a year ago for replacing the Planning Commission with the NITI Aayog, he said. The Centre anticipates fresh opposition again on the NDC as well.

So, the source said, "The Prime Minister is likely to want to not do it just executively but through a meeting of the full Governing Council of the Chief Ministers."

The National Development Council, set up on 6 August, 1952 by an executive order of the government, served as "the highest decision-making authority" in the country on development matters.

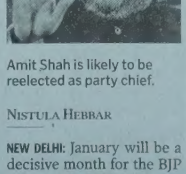
One of the most significant of its decisions was the creation (as part of the Gadgil-Mukherjee exercise) of "special category" of States, and the criteria for determining whether a State could receive the status and related financial support from the Centre.

"The National Development Council was set up by a Cabinet resolution and so its metamorphism into the NITI Aayog's Governing Council will also be through a resolution of the Cabinet," the source said.

It was on recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission that the NDC was reconstituted and its functions redefined on October 7, 1967.

Initially, it comprised the Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers of all States and the members of the Planning Commission.

Countdown to choose next BJP chief begins



Amit Shah is likely to be reelected as party chief.

NISTULA HEBBAR

NEW DELHI: January will be a decisive month for the BJP as the countdown to choosing its next president has begun in earnest with announcement of a series of meetings between the BJP and RSS and the latter organisation's top office bearers too.

According to top sources involved in the process, the suspense over whether or not current chief Amit Shah will be repeated in the post will end after January 20. "All State units have been told to wind up their organisational polls by January 10. Till now Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttarakhand have completed their election processes," said a source involved in the process.

It's communi

RUKMINI S

MAPPING

Hindus, Jains and Sikhs have recorded the lowest child sex ratios, while Christians & Muslims have the most gender-equal sex ratios



Source: Census 2011

NEW DELHI: What matters more for development: location or community? New official data show that while some communities do better than others in sex ratio and literacy, State-level differences can be as important.

Newly released data from the Census shows that on average nationwide, Christians, followed by Muslims, continue to have the most gender-equal child sex ratios of 958 girls for every 1,000 boys and 943 respectively. Buddhists follow, with Hindus, Jains and Sikhs, recording the lowest child sex ratios; the numbers for Jains and Sikhs have, however, improved since 2001, while those of all other communities have worsened.

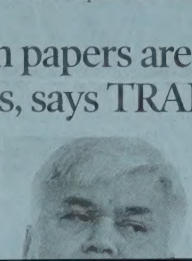
However, a look at the State-wise data shows that communities are not monoliths. In the States with better sex ratios, including the States with high tribal populations and the southern States, the sex ratios of all communities tend to be higher than they are in other States.

In Kerala, for instance, Hindus, Muslims and Christians have nearly the same sex ratio among t
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Consultation papers are not opinion polls, says TRAI chief

YUTHIKA BHARGAVA & VIKAS DHOOT



NEW DELHI: India's telecom regulator has received over 14 lakh responses in support of Facebook's contentious Free Basics platform, but virtually

a large number of people should not go unheard," he said. Till Thursday morning, the regulator had received 18.27 lakh comments on the consultation paper, with over 14 lakh being template com-

Modi's itinerar

Soldier of the revolution

Remembering Che Guevera on his 40th death anniversary.

SHELLEY WALIA



ICONIC FIGURE: *Che Guevara on CBS-TV studios in 1964.* PHOTO: AP

In the post-Cold War period, the impact of left politics were diluted with the triumph of western capitalism. But Che Guevara is one iconic figure that looms large and stands for a counterblast to the right-wing dominance through his notion of armed resistance against opponents of socialism.

This symbol of revolutionary fervour, paradoxically practical and idealistic, died 40 years ago on October 7, 1967. At a gathering of Latin American leaders a few days ago Fidel Castro remembered his close comrade: "I halt in my daily combat to bow my head, with respect and gratitude, to the exceptional combatant who fell on the eighth of October 40 years ago...."

Long journeys

"Che considered himself a soldier of this revolution, with absolutely no concern about surviving it," wrote Fidel Castro in his **Che: A Memoir**. After admonishing the communist regime in Russia, he left his political position in Cuba, travelled to Africa and raised a battalion for the Congo Civil War. Later in Bolivia, he along with his army was surrounded by the American-trained Bolivian forces at Vallegrande. Like a true existential hero, he faced his death with a smile. A true revolutionary met his death at the hands of a drunk soldier. Later his hands would be hacked for foolproof evidence of his death.

I belong to that era — a time of rebellion and reactionary politics that permeated every academic institution around the world. We would read Sartre, discuss existential drama and the tragedy of choices facing man. Coffee houses became the site for engagement in the polemics of the creative confidence and the critical intelligence that went with transformative politics emerging from Latin America. We admired Che's involvement with lepers in Argentina and Peru, an experience that would impact his political ideology of ending inequality in the name of justice. It was important that Sartre and de Beauvoir went to Cuba to meet him. Che travelled to Russia and India meeting Khrushchev and Nehru to gain insight into issues of freedom and justice.

When he died in October 1967, Che Guevara had become a hero to my generation and the impetus behind the only socialist revolution that saw victory on the American continent. As Ariel Dorfman writes, "The images were thereafter invariably gigantic. Che, the titan, standing up to the Yanquis, the world's dominant power."

Che had experienced on his road journey the ruthless working of the "capitalist octopuses" and swore that he would not rest till he had brought about land reform and the end of American hegemony. Peasants in Cuba flocked to join his war of liberation, support that would enable Castro and him to finally gain victory in 1959.

With his death ended the life of a man who had sacrificed his career in medicine and clasped hands with Fidel Castro to oppose colonial rule, capitalism, and orthodox Marxism and American interference in Cuba. His death touched my generation so deeply that many were meaningfully provoked to continue with intensified defiance. In his famous article, "Notes on Man and Socialism", he emphasised the creation of a 'New Man': "the goal of socialism is the creation of more complete and more developed human beings". His definition of guerilla warfare became a message of legitimisation of oppositional strategies in his celebrated book **Guerrilla Warfare**: "The guerrilla band is an armed nucleus, the fighting vanguard of the people. It draws its great force from the mass of the people themselves. The guerrilla band is not to be considered inferior to the army against which it fights simply because it is inferior in fire power. Guerrilla warfare is used by the side which is supported by a majority but which possesses a much smaller number of arms for use in defence against oppression."

Influential

We, as young students, were taken in by his motorcycle ride through South America, which ended in many of us voraciously reading his **The Motorcycle Diaries** that expressed his horror at the condition of the natives. Our social consciousness also received a rough jolt and we began to lean towards the liberal and the anti-Nazi stance.

He remains a potent political force in Latin America as is visible in the anti-American wave sweeping Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Mexico. The dream that he shared with the Left, and more so with Fidel Castro is now turning real especially after the victory of democracy in a few countries.

WHEN HE DIED IN 1967, CHE GUEVARA HAD BECOME THE IMPETUS BEHIND THE ONLY SOCIALIST REVOLUTION THAT SAW VICTORY ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

101 ways you can help 'Preserve Planet Earth'

Poor Planet Earth. It's in sorry shape. Landfills are full and are still being fed by a seemingly endless supply of garbage. Toxic wastes seep into the water as smog dirties the air of cities on every continent. Rain forests are going up in smoke, and plant and animal species become extinct with frightening regularity. the "green-house effect" is heating up the atmosphere even as the hole in the protective ozone layer grows larger year by year.

In the face of such major environmental problems, can the individual really do anything significant to help "Preserve Planet Earth?" The answer is a resounding yes.

Although one person can't end the avalanche of trash tossed away every day, individuals can cut down on the size of their own contribution to the waste stream. One person can cut down on the fumes his car emits. The more that individuals work at helping the environment in their everyday lives, the easier it becomes for all of us to deal with the bigger problems.

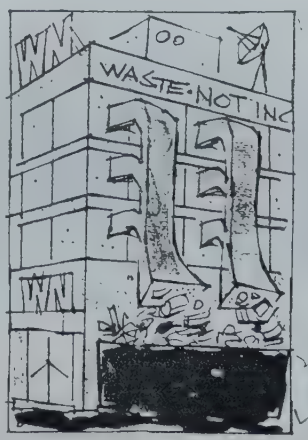
So don't think that what you do doesn't matter. It does. As Edmund Burke said, "Nobody made a greater mistake than he who did nothing because he could only do a little."

Here's a list of little things you can do to make a big difference in the health of Planet Earth.

—THE EDITORS



Don't lose hope.
Don't lose heart.
Don't lose count.



1 Recycle. Develop a "recycling attitude." You can begin by participating in your local recycling program. Most community programs recycle newspapers, cans, glass, and plastic milk cartons and soda bottles. In the U.S., recycling just the voluminous Sunday newspapers would save more than 500,000 trees weekly.

2 If there is no local recycling effort, encourage your neighbors and friends to get one started. As landfill space dwindles, recycling becomes more attractive—and cost effective—for communities.

3 Cut down on the non-recyclable garbage your household produces. The less waste placed in landfill, the longer the landfills will last.

4 Although so-called "junk mail" can be recycled, in the U.S. you can also write Mail Preference Service, Direct Marketing Association, P.O. Box 3861, New York, New York 10163, to have your name removed from future mailing lists.

5 In the U.S., call the Environmental Defense Fund Hotline 1-800-225-5333, to obtain information about recycling programs in your area.

6 Buy stationery, cards, and wrapping paper made form recycled paper.

7 Plant a garden. Even in urban settings, you can grow herbs and flowers in pots.

8 "Xeriscape" your lawn. The term refers to a method of landscaping that uses the least amount of water. Plant grass, shrubs, and flowers that require little water and use other techniques that conserve water.

9 Build a compost heap in your yard for grass, leaves, branches and other clippings. It will reduce waste collection and help your garden grow. In the U.S., yard and food waste constitute a quarter of the waste stream.

10 Put coffee grounds, egg shells, banana peels, etc. in the compost heap, too.

11 Cut down on pesticide use in the lawn and garden—only one percent of pesticides actually reach a pest. Consider using organic pesticides.



12 Install a "graywater" tank to reuse some household water that might otherwise go down the drain. Note: Building a graywater tank is relatively expensive and may not always be allowed by communities. Check first. Also, write Edible Publications, P.O. Box 1841, Santa Rosa, CA 95402, for their $6 publication, "Graywater Use in the Landscape."

13 Buy unbleached coffee filters. Better yet, use a long-lasting cloth or metal coffee filter.

14 Use cloth diapers. (About 18 billion disposable diapers enter U.S. landfills each year. A few cities, however, have started programs to recycle these disposables.)

15 Use cloth towels, not paper towels, for spills.

16 Use low - phosphate or phosphate- free detergents for doing laundry and other clean-up jobs around the house.

17 Use chlorine-free bleach.

18 Don't buy aerosol cans containing chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which destroy the ozone layer. Even aerosol sprays using substitute gases like propane and butane help create smog when they interact with sunlight. Look for products that come with non-aerosol vacuum pumps.

19 Avoid "overpackaged" goods and foods. For example, buy fresh fruits and vegetables loose, not in plastic bags or shrink-wrapped on trays. Containers and packaging make up about a third of the waste stream.

20 Buy the larger, economy sizes of detergents and other products you use regularly.

21 Buy eggs in cardboard — not styrofoam — cartons.

22 Buy biodegradable waxed paper wrap instead of plastic wrap for preserving food.

23 Buy reusable, not disposable products. (In the U.S. alone, more than two billion plastic razors are thrown away every year.)

24 Choose non-toxic substitutes for products with toxic ingredients. For instance, make cleaning solutions from baking soda, lemon juice, and vinegar.

25 If you have a choice, pick paper bags over plastic bags at the grocer and elsewhere. Although paper bags are generally made from virgin paper, without contributions from recycled paper, they are biodegradable and can be recycled.

26 If you do take plastic bags, wash and reuse them.

27 You can easily avoid the "paper or plastic" dilemma completely. Bring your own canvas, or the string bags popular in Europe? — to the grocery store.

28 Buy products that can be packaged in refillable or reusable containers.

29 When a refillable or a reusable package cannot be located, look for one that is made from a material that is being recycled in your community.

30 If you must have a product containing toxics, buy the smallest package possible — only the amount you will actually use, and dispose of the package carefully.



31 Buy concentrates whenever possible.

32 Patronize your local farmers' market. This supports regional agriculture and requires less transportation and accompanying carbon dioxide emissions.

33 Make it a point to clean or replace air-conditioner filters every month.

34 Where possible, replace incandescent lights with energy-efficient flourescent lights. Compact flourescent light bulbs cost more, but they last much longer than incandescent bulbs and use about one-third of the energy. As consumer demand increases for these relatively new devices (manufactured by Sylvania, General electric, Panasonic, Philips, and others), prices will go down. Ask your local hardware store to stock them.

70 Turn your backyard into a wildlife refuge. The Audubon Society or a local nursery can help you plan a refuge that will provide water, trees, and shelter and help ease the loss of natural habitat. You can also write the National Wildlife Federation Backyard Wildlife Habitat Program at 1412 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266, U.S.A.

71 If you're a fisherman or boater, develop a system for containing waste and carting it back to shore. Never dump anything into the ocean or river.

72 If you live near a beach, organize or join a beach cleanup.

73 Do you really need to drive a car everywhere? Walk to work, or ride a bicycle.

74 Use public transportation whenever possible.

75 Car pool. Two — or four — can ride as cheaply as one.

76 Keep your car tuned up. When a car's running well, it uses nine percent less gas and thus emits fewer toxic and noxious fumes.

77 Don't idle away energy. Beyond one minute, it's more fuel efficient to restart your car.

78 Clean up your act. Keep automobile fuel filters clean and save on gas.

79 Need a new car tire? Give your old one to a place that recycles them.

80 Lighten the load. Needless weight—like those old golf clubs in the trunk— can reduce fuel economy by one percent.

81 Cool — or cold? Turn car (and home) air conditioning down — or off.

82 The end of the road for most auto tires— about 250 million annually in the U.S. — is the landfill. Postpone that time for your tires by keeping them inflated properly to prolong life and save gas.

83 When you shop for new car tires, look for steel-belted radials. They are generally the most efficient.

84 Recycle motor oil. If even one quart of oil seeps into the ground water, it can pollute 946,250 litres (250,000 gallons) of drinking water.

85 Have your car's air conditioner checked to make sure it's leak-free. More ozone-harming CFCs escape into the air from Freon-leaking systems than from systems being recharged.

86 When repairing your car's air conditioner, go to a shop that reclaims and recycles Freon.

87 If or when your car is headed for a junkyard, be sure the air conditioner's Freon is emptied first. (Do the same with your old refrigerators.)

88 Start a recycling program at the office, too. Cans, glass and newspapers are easy. Many companies also buy recyclable bond and computer paper.

89 Don't make waste paper by wasting paper. Use both sides of a sheet when making machine copies, learn to recycle out-of-date memos, fliers, etc., into note pads.

90 Use a stoneware coffee mug, not styrofoam, for those coffee breaks.



91 Keep a travel mug in your car for stops at fast-food restaurants, and have them fill that instead of a Styrofoam cup.

92 If your office has a cafeteria or staff room, substitute paper cups for non-biodegradable Styrofoam cups.

93 Ask that office newsletters and memos be printed on recycled paper. If you're the boss or editor, do it.

94 Through your school board or parent - teacher groups, encourage local schools to teach ecology and recycling as part of the curriculum.

95 Work with your local government to make sure the area landfill or dump is maintained according to the strictest environmental standards.

96 Organize a "Clean Sweep" project in the community, using volunteers or even city workers. Designate a certain day for pickup of the area's household toxic and hazardous waste products. When the street- by- street "sweep" is finished, take all the collected materials to the nearest hazardous waste facility.

97 Encourage your local government to use sand instead of salt to de-ice streets and walkways in winter.

98 Work with your city and county governments to protect any wetlands that may remain in your area.

99 Keep yourself informed and regularly updated on local, regional, national, and global environmental issues.

100 Plant a tree. Because they absorb carbon dioxide in the process of growing, trees help clean up the air and reduce global warming.

101 Plant another tree.

This list was compiled from the following sources:

50 Simple Things You Can Do to Save the Earth, *by the Earth Works Group (Earthworks Press, U.S. $4.95).*

Save our Planet, *by Diane MacEachern, (Dell books, $9.95).*

The Green Lifestyle Handbook, *edited by Jeremy Rifkin (Henry Holt, $10.95)*

Saving the Earth: A Citizen's Guide to Environmental Action, *by Will Steger and Jon Bowermaster (Knopf, $19.95).*

How to Make the World a Better Place, *by Jeffrey Hollender (Quill/William Morrow, $9.95).*

35 Give your home an "energy audit" to see if it's running efficiently. Many utility companies will do a free or inexpensive energy audit of your home.

36 Insulate your home. Nearly half of all energy in homes is wasted due to poor insulation.

37 Check for leaks around windows and doors.

38 Install storm windows and doors.

39 Install a clock thermostat for your heating system.

40 Have your furnace service at least once a year.

41 If you use radiator heat, put a reflector sheet behind the radiator. It keeps the heat from being absorbed by the wall.

42 If practical, have a solar heating unit installed in your home.

43 Make maximum use of natural light. Think about it: Do you really need to turn on a light during the day?

44 Turn off lights if you'll be out of the room for 15 minutes or more.

45 Turn down the temperature of your home's hot water heater. Ideal temperature is 54 degrees Celsius (130 degrees F.)

46 Insulate your water heater with a prefab "blanket." This can cut energy consumption by seven to eight percent.

47 Adjust your refrigerator to a "less-cold" setting.

48 Clean the condenser coils on the back or bottom of your refrigerator once a year.

49 Turn off that tap! Running the tap while shaving, brushing teeth, or washing the dishes wastes 11 to 19 litres (three to five gallons) of water every minute.

50 Take showers instead of baths. Showers use less water— if you limit them to five minutes.

51 Install low-flow faucet aerators in the kitchen and bathroom. for about $4, you can save on hot water and reduce water flow by 50 percent. Because the aerator mixes air with the water, the flow actually seems stronger.

52 Install low-flow shower-heads.

53 You can save water every time you flush toilet by placing a "displacement device," such as a small plastic, water-filled bottle in the tank.

54 Fix leaks promptly. A dripping faucet can waste more then 76 litres (20 gallons) of water a day.

55 When it comes time to buy or replace the one you already own, consider a front-loading washing machine. Front loaders will use up to 40 percent less water than a comparable top-loading model.

56 A gas dryer with electronic ignition requires less energy to operate than an electric dryer. When buying a new dryer, look for one with a moisture sensor, which automatically shuts off the machine when the clothes are dry.

57 When possible, use outdoor clothesline instead of a clothes dryer.

58 Run your dishwasher, washing machine, and dryer only when you have full loads.

59 Don't hose down your driveway or sidewalk to clean it. Sweep it off.

60 When things break, fix them rather than junk them.

61 When it becomes time, replace major appliances with more energy- efficient ones. Newer appliances (refrigerators, for example) generally use less energy than older models.

62 Buying a gas cooking stove? An electronic ignition system will use about 40 percent less gas than a pilot light.

63 Use latex paint instead of oil based paint. If you need oil based paint, make sure you keep the lid on tight when storing it, to prevent release of toxic fumes.

64 Paint left over? Give it to a neighbor or donate it to a local school or church.

65 Buy rechargeable batteries. Household alkaline batteries contain mercury and cadmium, highly toxic metals that can leak into groundwater form landfills. Although rechargeable batteries contain cadmium, they last much longer than regular batteries. Also, try to find a place that recycles alkaline batteries.

66 Keep the environmental mindset even on vacation. Don't litter. When camping, in parks or on beaches, keep the areas clean.

67 For that weekend cookout don't use pollution- causing barbecue lighter fluids. Wash and reuse plastic silverware and plates, or use paper plates rather than Styrofoam.

68 Plastic six-pack rings can be murder weapons for wildlife. Blown from landfills and roadsides, they often end up in the water, where they can entangle and kill birds, seals, and sea lions. So cut up the rings before throwing them away.

69 Party balloons? When helium-filled balloons find their way to water, they can be ingested by whales and sea turtles, which then die of starvation. Don't let your balloons float away.



लक्षात आले तरी खूप पेईल.

८. इतिहासाची पाने चाळता मुस्लिम शहांनी हिंदू समाजास मागस ठरविण्याचा विनोद केला हे स्पष्टच दिसते. स्वातंत्र्यप्राप्तीचा वास लागताच पाकिस्तानची मागणी होण्यामागे हा इतिहास काही प्रमाणात कारणीभूत ठरला. हिंदुत्ववादी वर्गाला आपले पारंपरिक सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक साम्राज्य मिळविण्यासाठी 'स्वतंत्र' राजकीय आणि आर्थिक सत्ता प्रस्थापित करायची होती. एकीकडे मुस्लिमांना हाकलून तर दुसरीकडे आंबेडकरांना चिरडून ही सत्ता मिळवण्याचे प्रयत्न झाले. पण फाळणीनंतर बहुसंख्य मुस्लिम भारतात राहिले तर समान भारतीय नागरिकत्वाचे कायदे झाल्यामुळे हिंदुत्ववादी चरफडत बसले. तेढ निर्माण झाली म्हणण्यापेक्षा ती टिकविण्यात आली म्हणणे सयुक्तिक होईल.

५. लोक, लोकांची आस्था-अनास्था साधारणपणे गृहित धरण्याचा एक कल, बहुसंख्य बुद्धिमंतांमध्ये दिसतो. लोकांची 'अनास्था' दाखविली म्हणूनच देशभर ठायीठायी दंगली उसळल्या नाहीत असे म्हटल्यास वावगे ठरू नये. सर्वसाधारण लोकांच्या हितापिथची राजकर्त्या-वर्गाला, आर्थिक सुविधांत पोचलेल्या वर्गाला अनास्थाच आहे. अशा परिस्थितीत लोकांना सत्तास्थापी धर्मा अनास्था दाखविली असेल तर ती चिंतनीय नव्हे तर स्पृहणीय बाब मानावी लागेल. बाहेतर आज चर्चेसाठी आपण जिवंतच राहिलो नसतो!

६. भारताची भौगोलिक प्रादेशिक रचना विस्कळीत झालीच आहे. मात्र त्याची कारणे अर्थोत्पादक व्यवहारात नसून विषम व्यवस्थेत आहेत. विस्कळीतपणा त्यामुळेच आला आहे. अन्यथा फुकट वहाणाऱ्या कावेरी पाण्यावर गेली आठ दशके 'वाच्यवाद' तरंगत राहिलाच नसता. उत्पादनास उत्तेजन आणि वितरणव्यवस्थेत न्याय्य समानता - ह्या दोन्ही तत्त्वांची काटेकोर अंमलबजावणी झाली तरच प्रादेशिक विस्कळीतपणा नाहीसा होईल. त्यानंतर हा विस्कळीतपणाच प्रादेशिक, भाषिक, संघर्षांची नांदी ठरेल. नव्हे. सध्याचे चित्र हेच आहे.

७. राज्यघटना बदलण्याची गरज नसून सदर घटनेची काटेकोर अंमलबजावणी झाली तरच सर्वसमावेशक विकासाला पोषक असे वातावरण निर्माण होईल. आजवर घटनेप्रमाणे अंमलबजावणी नको म्हणून चढाई व्हायची. अयोध्येत घटना नव्हेच, धर्मसंसद हवी म्हणून आरोळा ठोकली. घटना बचाव म्हणण्याची वेळ आली. लोकाभिमुख राजकारण सुरू झाले तरच घटनेचे, पर्यायाने आपल्या प्रजासत्तेचे आणि सर्वसमावेशी विकासाचे प्रश्न संपुष्टात येतील. बेजबाबदार राजकारण लोकाभिमुख राजकारण होऊ शकत नाही हेही स्पष्ट व्हावे.

प्रदीप देशपांडे
२८१, जीवदानी दर्शन
मुलुंड (प), मुंबई-८१

जातीय दंगली, राजकारण आणि आपण
(सहा डिसेंबर १९९२ नंतर)

'सुजन'च्या गेल्या अंकात विचारशील मान्यवरांच्या प्रतिक्रिया आपण वाचल्या.

आता सादर करीत आहोत इंग्रजी-मराठी वर्तमानपत्रांमध्ये, या काळात प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या जनसामान्यांच्या निवडक प्रतिक्रिया

"सुजन"

आजच्या काळातील उपक्रमशीलतेचे, विचारशीलतेचे आणि स्वयंसेवी वृत्तीचे प्रतिबिंब

पाचशे रु. आजीव सदस्य वर्गणी भरून आपणही या सुजन उपक्रमात जीवनभरासाठी सामील व्हा!
(वर्षासाठी फक्त ६० रु.!)

चेक / देणगी - युवाशक्ती प्रतिष्ठान या नावे ड्राफ्ट काढून (किंवा मनीऑर्डरने)

युवाशक्ती प्रतिष्ठान, १०१, जेराबाई वाडिया रोड, पालव सदन, परळ, मुंबई-४०० ०१२

या पत्त्यावर आजच पाठवा. अन्यथा मर्यादित प्रतींचा साठा संपण्याची शक्यता असते!

दिशा ग्रामीण विकासाची

संपादक सुजन यांस

मार्च-एप्रिलचा सुजन हाती पडला. सहा दिवसांवर्षांच्या पडझडीनंतर सर्वंकष आवश्यक होते. 'सुजन'सारखं व्यासपीठ अशा सहचिंतनापासून दूर राहिले असते तरच आश्चर्य वाटले असते. अयोध्याकांड कितीही अघोरी असले तरी या प्रकरणाने आपल्या समाज-परिवर्तनाशी निगडित अशा राजकीय, आर्थिक, सामाजिक आणि सांस्कृतिक वैचारिकतेला चांगलेच शेकून काढले हे बरोबरच. प्रस्थापित विचारसरणीत व्यावहारिक पातळीवर दोष निर्माण होण्याचा अवकाश, त्यावर प्रतिक्रिया-मंथन सुरू होते. ते अर्थातच आवश्यक असते.

अयोध्येत निर्माण केलेल्या प्रश्नांचा सारांश 'सुजन'च्या सात प्रश्नांत व्यक्त झाला आहे. मान्यवर व्यक्तींच्या प्रतिक्रिया मात्र तावडतोबीच्या प्रतिक्रिया वाटतात. त्यामुळे स्वतंत्र मत द्यावेसे वाटले.

१. स्वातंत्र्यानंतरच्या काळात राजकीय सत्तेसाठी धर्मकारणाचा वापर करण्यात आल्याच्या परिणामी धर्माचेच राजकारण करून घेण्याची प्रक्रिया सुरू झाली. शासनाने श्रध्याही अडचणी नाही आणि मशिदपण बांधली नाही. तेवढे नैतिक बळ प्रस्थापित राजकारण्यांमध्ये शिल्लकच नव्हते. तसेच घटनेची अंमलबजावणी काटेकोरपणे करण्याचा डोळसपणा शासनयंत्रांनी दाखविला असता तर घटना बचाव म्हणण्याची पाळी आली नसती. पण ही झाली जर-तरची भाषा. अयोध्याकांड हे आपल्या प्रशासनावादी व्यवस्थेतील मूलभूत दोष तसेच राहू दिल्यामुळे निर्माण झाले. लोकाभिमुख राजकारणाविषयीचे औदासीन्य हा प्रमुख दोष आपल्या शासनव्यवस्थेत टिकून राहिला. अयोध्याकांडानंतरही या दोषावरच त्रिशूळ टेकवला. शासनकर्तेपण हिंदूच. मशिद पाडल्यावर नेमके काय होते हे वघण्याची खुमखुमी सरकारलाच होती. सरकार, धार्मिक नेते आणि पाकिस्तान या तिन्ही घटकांनी भारतीय मुस्लिमांचा 'भ्रमनिरास' केला आणि परिणामतः त्या समाजात मुक्त विचारप्रवाह सुरू झाला. ही या कांडाची चांगली बाजू मानावी लागेल. वाईट काय घडले त्यावर भाष्य करण्याची गरज वाटत नाही.

२. ऐतिहासिक काळात भवितव्याचा वेध आणि शोध घेणाऱ्या आणि त्यासाठी इतरांच्या भवितव्याचा इतिहास करू पाहणाऱ्या मंडळींना त्यांचा इतिहास शक्य तितक्या लवकर विसरणेच सोईचे ठरणार आहे. अन्यथा त्यांच्या हातात इतिहास आणि इतरांच्या हातात भविष्य अशी स्थिती येईल. उच्चवर्णीय समाज आपला इतिहास विसरायला तयार असेल तर इतर समाज आपला इतिहास विसरण्यास प्रवृत्त होईल. समन्वयवादी भूमिकेमुळे उभय वर्गांना सुसह्य जीवनदान मिळण्याचा संभव अधिक आहे.

३. यादवी युद्धाची शक्यता भारतात दिसत नाही. सुदैवाने भारतीय समाज संकर संस्कृतीतून टिकला आहे. यादवी कलहात कोण कुणाचे आणि कशामुळे - यादव-शत्रू हे ठरविणे कठिण आहे. आजतर जागतिक पातळीवर देखील शत्रुत्वाच्या संकल्पना बदलल्या आहेत. त्याचा परिणाम भारतीयांवर होणार आहे. तथापि, आपण अंतर्गत कलहात गुंतलो तर आपले नव्हे तर साम्राज्यवादी देशांचे फावणार आहे, एवढे

India 2007: high growth, low development

P. Sainath

The good news is that India's falling to rank 128 in the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is not really a decline. Even though it was ranked 126 last year. So say unnamed officials (at least, according to a report in one newspaper). It seems the truth is that we would have been 128 anyway, even last year, "had updated data been used for other countries." In short, we have not really slipped in rankings, you know, we were this bad all along. In Mumbai argot: "We are like this only."

To begin with, the rank of 128 puts us in the bottom 50 of the 177 nations that the UNDP Human Development Report looks at. Treat Adivasis and Dalits as a separate nation and you will find that nation in the bottom 25. Or subtract our per capita GDP ranking from the process and watch India as a whole do a slide. Meanwhile, even nations that are far below us in the rankings — and which have nothing like our growth numbers — do much better than us on many counts. So even if our HDI value took a tiny step up from 0.611 last year to 0.619, it means other nations did much better than us. And hence we went down to rank 128 this year.

Each year since 1990, the Human Development Report (HDR) of the UNDP publishes the Human Development Index (HDI). This index "looks beyond GDP to a broader definition of well-being." The HDI seeks to capture "three dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy at birth). Being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education). And third: GDP per capita measured in U.S. dollars at Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)."

Let us look at where we stand in the rankings of the index. El Salvador, which saw a bloody civil war for over a decade from the 1980s, ranks 25 places ahead of us at 103. Bolivia, often called South America's poorest nation, is 11 steps above us at 117. Guatemala, nearly half of whose citizens are poor indigenous people, saw the longest civil war in Central America. One that lasted close to four decades and which saw 200,000 people killed or disappear. That too, in a nation of just 12 million. Guatemala ranks 10 places above us at 118.

> Even nations that are far below us in the HDI rankings — and which have nothing like our growth numbers — have done much better than us on many counts.

In Africa, Botswana — ranked below us in the 2006 HDI at 131 — climbed four places above us at 124 this time. It replaced fellow African nation Gabon which quit that slot to move upwards to 119 this year. (Gee, their updated data arrived on time. Must be using a different courier service.) The Occupied Palestinian Territories, with all their woes, slipped six places to 106. Still well ahead of India.

In Asia, countries like Vietnam — victim of the bloodiest conflict since World War II — rose further in the charts, to rank 105 this year. Sri Lanka, of course, is way ahead of us at 99. So are nations like Kazakhstan and Mongolia. They too have risen in the ranks. The former from 79 to 73 and the latter from 116 to 114.

Note that some of these nations rank up to 30 slots above us. Others fall within 30 nations below us. Not one of them has had our nine per cent growth. Few of them have been touted an emerging economic superpower. Nor even as a software superpower. Not even as a blossoming nuclear power. Together, they probably do not have as many billionaires as India does. In short, even nations much poorer than us in Asia, Africa and Latin America have done a lot better than we have.

India rose in the dollar billionaire rankings, though. From rank 8 in 2006 to number 4 in the Forbes list this year, but we slipped from 126 to 128 in human development. In the billionaire stakes, we are ahead of most of the planet and might even close in on two of the three nations ahead of us (Germany and Russia). It will, of course, be some time before we erase the national humiliation of lagging behind the top dog in that race, the United States. (Which, by the way, dropped from 8 to 12 in the HDI rankings this year.)

The Cuban example

Cuba has zero standing in the roll call of billionaires. In terms of per capita income, it ranks low in the world. But when it comes to human development, it ranks 51 — that is, 77 places ahead of us. It figures in the HDI's 'High Human Development' group. This is a nation which has faced a huge economic blockade since its birth. U.S. sanctions ensure that almost everything is costlier in Cuba than in many other nations. In per capita terms, it spends four per cent of what the U.S. does on health but achieves better outcomes on most of the vital parameters of that sector. Despite its many disadvantages, it achieves a better HDI rank than Mexico, Russia or China. (All of which have gained more billionaires in recent times.)

But there is hope. Our top 10 billionaires are doing fine. "Their collective wealth has soared 27 per cent since July this year," *The Times of India* told us on its front page on October 8. The headline said they'd got "richer by $65.3 billion" in just three months since July. That is, by more than Rs.119 crore an hour. Or not far from Rs.2 crore every minute. Of the 10, the TOI tells us, Mukesh Ambani alone "increased his wealth by roughly Rs.40 lakh every single minute."

It is doubtful if the wages of agricultural labourers went up by just Rs.40 (just 40, not lakhs) in years, let alone by the minute. But then we rank fourth in super-rich and 128th in human development. Most of our billionaires seem to be from Mumbai, also home to a quarter of India's $100,000 millionaires. Mumbai is the capital of Maharashtra, perhaps our richest State on many counts. One that has seen close to 32,000 farmers commit suicide since 1995. Also a State where rural poverty has gone up even in official reckoning.

Meanwhile, the UNHDR records that almost a third of India's children, or 30 per cent, are below average weight at birth. In Sierra Leone, ranked at 177, rock bottom of the Human Development Index, it is 23 per cent. In Guinea Bissau and Burkina Faso, ranked 175 and 176, children with low birth weight account for 22 and 19 per cent. Even in Ethiopia, ranked 169, the figure is 15 per cent. So we're down there with the bottom five on that count.

Amongst children under the age of five, 47 per cent in India are underweight. In Ethiopia, that is 38 per cent. And in Sierra Leone, 27 per cent. We are home to the largest number of malnourished children in the world. When it comes to child nutrition and literacy, we jostle for space with the nations ranked lowest in HDI in the planet. And mostly we even beat them.

P.T.O.→

'Statistical glitch'

This week's papers report a curious new development. One which might further impact on our 'rank.' They report a World Bank study as saying that the Indian and Chinese economies might be smaller in size than we believe. Maybe almost 40 per cent smaller, says *The International Herald Tribune* (December 9, 2007). "What happened was a large statistical glitch," says the IHT. But it's a glitch that matters. "Suddenly the number of Chinese who live below the World Bank's poverty line of a dollar a day jumped from about 100 million to 300 million." It turns out the overpaid elite number crunchers have been using obsolete data for a very long time.

The Bank's own survey lists new purchasing power parities for 100 countries benchmarked for the year 2006. Well, India figured in the study for the first time since 1985 and China for the first time ever. And so? India's GDP in PPP terms, the TOI notes, was $3.8 trillion in 2005 before the new study. Going by the new data after the revision, it stands at $2.34 trillion. (In nominal dollar terms, roughly $800 billion.) Boy! These updated data are a nuisance. First it turns out we should have been HDI rank 128 last year, too. Now we learn that our economy is a lot smaller than we imagined. As the IHT says, "This is not a mere technicality." It shrinks the relative size of developing economies by quite a bit. India's GDP per capita (PPP) falls from $3,779 to $2,341 with the new data. Also, as the TOI sadly notes: "We ain't a trillion dollar economy yet."

It is not clear yet how agencies other than the Bank, like the UNDP for instance, were working with PPP. Were they using updated measures or the old data? If the latter (which seems the case), and given India's entry in the Bank survey is recent, even our awful HDI performance could get worse. The captain has switched on the seat belt sign. Buckle up: we could be landing soon on the updated numbers.

---

n must carry the full

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SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT



JANUARY

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MAY

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Tuka mhanay

'Tuka says': a sampler of his verse. 'Abhang' literally means 'indestructible', to signify those songs in praise of God

[SOUL]

You cannot split the Earth by
drawing boundaries on it.

— Tukaram

●●●

Words are the only jewels I
possess
Words are the only clothes that I
wear

Words are the only food that
sustains my life
Words are the only wealth I
distribute among people

Witness the Word, He is God
I worship Him with my words

(translated by Dilip Chitre)

■■■

Dhanya te sansari...
All blest are they whose hearts
with pity grow.
Who left their home, Vaikuntha,
to serve mankind;
Who (it is no myth) slight their
personal needs,
Whose hearts are large; whose
lips with honey flow.

●●●

Anor aniya thokda...
Smaller than the smallest atom,
All-embracing as the heavens,
Tuka views the world detachedly:

Name and form are but delusion.
Realising their true nature
Snake-like, he sheds his skin,
The triple-world is left behind,
The soul has passed over it.

Light the jar.
The dull clay brightens.
Shining in that light does Tuka
Live on earth to serve mankind.

("Smaller the smallest atom" or '*anor aniya*' to describe God is a Sanskrit phrase from the Bhagvad Gita much in vogue with our medieval saint-poets including Saint Purandaradasa, also an ardent devotee of Vitthala and celebrated as the 'Karnataka Sangita Pitamaha'. He even used the signature 'Purandhara Vitthala' in his songs, which are still sung widely today).

●●●

Sakal hee majhi...
None see me off.
Let those go home who will.
Receive this blessing from a
failing heart:
Let good deeds secure you good.
You cared for me, now give me to
the One
Who will not give you cause for
anxious thought.
I must now walk with that dear
Lord of Life
Whom I have followed with innate
love.
If you love me, behold, I set you
free,
Or my passing will be delayed.
So calm yourselves, allay your
grief.
Securely take each other by the
hand,
For full of purpose is this life.
The Law asserts that we must
part for good.
Reserve for talk, the past.

■■■

Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani of Pune (1851-1923), says the website *www.tukaram.com*, translated 900 poems of Tukaram into English. The three poems above are edited from his translations. **RN**





GOD'S EARTH: *Nagpanchami*, gouache on paper, 1953, by Radhacharan Bagchi (Above); *Blackbuck*, watercolour on paper, early 1950s, by Gopal Ghosh (left).

Faithscape

Renuka Narayanan

Death by Sabudana vada

- DON'T MEAN to sound ruder than I can help, but if some Maharashtrians really want to be so 'pure', they should not allow their Hindustani classical singers to tweet anything but *abhangs*, since that music is tech-ully not 'theirs' (forgive us, Pandits Paluskar and tkhande, you were great souls and we love you). But it, doesn't Hindustani classical come from the great bastions of the north: Gwalior (mother of all gha-as), Agra, Rampur and that lot? That means wonderful icians like Vitthshis Veena Sahasrabuddhe, Kishori onkar, Sruti Sadolikar, Ashwini Bhide Deshpande and hose Puneri male singers will be jobless and forced to rate - or have stones thrown at them by Sainiks. Even Bhendi Bazaar *gharana* of Bombay (Lata ageshkar's gurus) will have to be deleted from the rds. And *Bollywood* should shift out of Bombay.

now what I think? Anyone, anywhere in India who s the Sainik sort ofines doesn't deserve the rest of us. shouldn't the nice Maharashtrians come out and hold g protest rally? (A big cheer for Mr Kunar Ketkar, or of the largest Marathi daily, *Loksatta*, for speaking against such political trouble-making, but that's the y spirit of several brave, principled Marathi journos editors).

If more nice Maharashtrians don't speak up though, won't it be like how moderate Muslims, for example, are perceived in India by other communities as not brave enough *in critical numbers* to address the anti-re-formists and rabble-rousers in their community? This sounds unfair to those brave souls who DO speak up, but in many such cases they are like small atolls in a vast ocean, are they not? 'Perception management' DOES matter, though everyone knows perfectly well that nice people in any community are "not like that." Apropos of which, I recently got call from a maulana of my ac-quaintance in another city. It seems an Indian newspa-per had published a picture (I missed it) of the Egyptian foot-ball team in Angola "sacrific-ing" a cow. This gentleman, a well-meaning and peaceable soul in the main, waxed wroth about it. He felt it had "hurt the sentiments of Hindu brethren" and he and his good friend, "Panditji", wanted to raise an agitation. I'm afraid I lost it a bit and said quite tersely that if they wanted publicity, why did-n't they speak up for workwhile social causes instead of kicking up about what "*doosre*" did in "*leesre ka yahaan*". I'm glad he seemed to agree, but it's just one more stupid thing that goes to show how emotionally irresponsible people are in jangling others up to serve their own cause.

It sounds unfair to those brave souls who *do* speak up, but in many such cases they are like small atolls in a vast ocean, are they not? 'Perception management' DOES matter.

As for "respecting local culture", lots of us non-Ma-harashtrians adore *abhangs* for instance, despite living miles away from the former kingdom of the Rashtrakut-as (who were a breakaway from the Pallavas of Kanchi, so there). And you know what? The *abhangs* I know were learned from fellow Tamilians. There's even a Tamilian lady in my neighbourhood who holds abhang classes for Bengalis, South Indians, UP-ites and Punjabis.

There's plenty of number-crunching and sociologis-ing about the ongoing Maharashtrian/non-Maharash-trian *tamasha* on other pages, but the issue also res-onates with sacred geography and why we must never let ourselves be fooled by politicians into being *koopas-ta maanduukvan*' (frogs in a well). Tukaram is one such luminous reason. 'His' Pandharpur is also ours. His Vi-thoba is 'ours'. His verses are a refuge for all time. The sant-poets of India have kept our souls alive, they've been what I've long called a sanctuary of sound, as in how the late M.S. Subbulakshmi's music was a place to hide in and pray while pretending to just listen.

This cultural hardwiring cannot be wrenched out. The most poignant summary of this situation that I heard in recent times was from a play in English by Chennai-based writer Gowri Ramnarayan, called *Dark Horse*. It's about a young journalist who tries to interview the crusty, dis-illusioned Marathi poet, Arun Kolatkar. At one point, the journalist asks him, "Do you believe in God?" There's a fraught silence of maybe five long seconds. And then, the truth is dragged out of the man: "Well, I know Tukaram. And Tukaram knows God..."

There's simply too much good energy and real work for us, to let those horrible Sainiks get away with this.

renukanarayanan@hindustantimes.com

God's zillah

Common culture

WHO IS God? Jamini Roy's Krishna? (See painting above). Or Pundalik's Vithoba at Pandharpur? The Varkaris are pilgrims vowed to visiting Pandharpur on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight in the months of Ashadh and Kartik to worship its presiding deity, Pandurang/Vitthala/Vithoba. It is on this day that Vitthala (Vishnu), left his heaven, Vaikunth, to meet his devotee, the mortal Pundalik, at Pandharpur.

The story goes that when Pandurang came to Pundalik's door, the latter was busy attending to his aged parents. He gestured to Pandurang to stand on a stone slab until he was done. This priority charmed Pandurang. He left his image permanently on the slab, arms akimbo, wait-ing. Pundalik's devotion to earthly duties (dharma) is described as the cornerstone of the Varkari farmer's faith, of his unifying philosophy of worshipping the Formless God. Such unity, incidentally, is how the rest of agrarian India seems to configure Earth - God.

मिथुन : आरोग्यात सुधारणा.
कर्क : मित्रांचे सहकार्य लाभेल.
सिंह : हितसंबंध सुधारतील.
कन्या : आप्तेष्टांच्या गाठीभेटी.
तूळ : गृहसौख्य चांगले
वृश्चिक : मेहनतीने कामे करा.
धनु : अर्थप्राप्ती.
मकर : चिंता करू नका.
कुंभ : मानसिक स्वास्थ्य लाभेल.
मीन : मध्यम दिवस.

सर्कस काढावी असे त्यांच्या मनाने घेतले.

सांगली संस्थानचे राजे पटवर्धन यांनी त्यांना मदत केली व १८७८ मध्ये 'ग्रेन्ड इंडिया सर्कस' ही पहिली भारतीय सर्कस सुरू झाली अश्व विद्येच्या अभ्यासाने त्यांनी घोड्याचे आकर्षक प्रकार बसविले. या सर्कशीचा खुपच गाजावाजा झाला. चेअर्नी विल्सन यांची सर्कस छत्रेच्या सर्कशीसमोर फिकी पडू लागली. १८८४ मध्ये विल्सन यांनी आपली सर्कस छत्रे यांना विकली.

खाल्यास प्रदराचा लाभ होतो

□जारवदीची २०० ग्रॅम फुले, एक लीटर पाणी, दोन लीटर खोबरेल, तेल एकत्र करून मिश्रण उकळावे. त्यात नागरमोथा, ब्राम्ही, कापूर, कचरी, चंदन, वाळा, पाच पाच ग्रॅम घेऊन कुटून टाकावे. त्यातील पाणी आटले म्हणजे खाली उतरवून घ्यावे. थंड झाल्यावर बाटलीत भरून ठेवावे रोज डोक्याला चोळावे याचा केसांना लाभ होतो.

पार घाट -सातारा - रत्नागिरी मार्ग
केळघर घाट - सातारा महाबळेश्वर मार्ग.
पसरणीचा घाट- सातारा वाई मार्ग
फिटस् जिरांल्डचा घाट - महाबळेश्वर अलिबाग मार्ग.

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2] Last date of issuing tender forms - 9th June 1998, upto 1.00 p.m.
3] Last date of receiving completed tenders - 12th June 1998, upto 1.00 p.m.

Tenders will be opened on the same day if possible.

CHAIRMAN

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अ.न.	हुद्दयाचे नांव	हु. संख्या	पात्रता
१	व्यवस्थापक	१	एम. कॉम. पदवीधर बँकेत अनुभव असलेल्याना प्राधान्य देण्यात येईल.
२	कॅशियर	१	बी. कॉम. पदवीधर असलेल्याना प्राधान्य देण्यात येईल.
३	ज्युनियर असिस्टंट	२	,, ,, ,,
४	क्लार्क कम कंम्पुटर ऑपरेटर	१	पदवीधर व कंम्पुटरची माहिती असलेले.
५	ऑफिस बॉय	१	एस. एस. एल. सी.

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आजरा, दि. २५ (प्रतिनिधी)

निवडणुकीच्या निमित्ताने निर्माण होणारी कटूता टाळून गावच्या विकासासाठी सर्वांनी एकत्र यावे या हेतूने इटे ता. आजरा येथील ग्रामपचायतीची पंचवार्षिक निवडणूक यंदा पाचव्यांदा बिनविरोध करण्यात आली.

गावपातळीवरील माजी सरपंच रामचंद्र पाटील गट व पांडुरंग यादव गट यांच्यात जागावाटपात स... होऊन, तडजोड घेण्यात आला. आप्पा सुभाना यादव, विलास शामराव पाटील, सौ. जयश्री अर्जुन कांबळे व सौ. रेश्मा स्वीर्द परीट हे यादव गटाचे असून शिवाजी रामा पाटील, परशराम महादेव सुतार व विश्राम रामू कालेकर हे पाटील गटाचे आहेत रायवाडा आणि इटे ही ग्रुप ग्रामपंचायत आहे.

वाचकांचं व्यासपीठ

दुपट्टा वापरा पण सावधगिरी बाळगा !

'रिक्षाच्या ॲक्सेलमध्ये दुपट्टा अडकला व मुलीचा शिरच्छेद झाला' ही बातमी दै तरुण भारतमध्ये वाचल्यावर या दुपट्ट्याच्या कथा आणि त्यापासून होणाऱ्या व्यथा लिहाव्या असे वाटले. एकेकाळी सिंधी, पजाबी आणि मुस्लिम स्त्रियांचा पेहराव असलेला पंजाबी ड्रेस चुडीदार आणि दुपट्टा हा आता सर्वत्र सर्व थरातून लोकप्रिय झाला आहे हे आपण पाहतो. कशाप्रकारची वेशभूषा करावी हा जिच्या तिच्या आवडीचा प्रश्न!

साडीपेहरावाला मागे सारून चुडीदार ड्रेस शर्यतीत पुढे चाललेला दिसतोय. ड्रेसच्या बरोबर दुपट्टा आलाच. अर्थात हा दुपट्टा एकेकदा कशी फजिती करतो हे जर लक्षात घेतले तर दुपट्टा वापरणाऱ्या महिला निश्चितपणे सावध होतील. स्कूटरवर मागच्या सीटवर बसलेल्या एका महिलेचा दुपट्टा वाऱ्याने उडाला व लांब अंतरावर जाऊन पडला. स्कूटर थांबली. नवऱ्याने जरा रागातच पाहिले ती वरमली. आणि जाऊन दुपट्टा घेऊन आली. एका कॉलेजकुमारीच्या दुपट्ट्याचे टोक एका सायकलमध्ये अडकले व तो सायकलस्वार पडलाच पण दुपट्टा फाटला. (दुपट्ट्याची किंमतही भरमसाट असते) कित्येक स्त्रियांचे दुपट्टे रस्त्यावरून कचरा ढकलत जाताहत हे पहाताना विचित्र वाटते. पिठाच्या गिरणीत एका स्त्रीचा दुपट्टा गिरणीच्या पट्ट्यात अडकला व वेळ बरी म्हणून दुपट्टाच गरगरत गेला नपेक्षा अनर्थ घडला असता, असे एक ना अनेक गंभीर प्रसंग या दुपट्ट्यामुळे ओढवत आहेत. लांबलचक सोडलेला हा दुपट्टा प्रसंगी पाठीमागून येणाऱ्या लोकांच्या अंगावर पडतो, पायाखाली सापडतो, गळ्याभोवती गुंडाळला असल्यास गळफास बसतो. दुपट्ट्याचे मूळ प्रयोजनच बाजूला सारले गेले आहे तर तो वापरण्याचे वास्तविक कारणच नाही.केवळ फॅशन म्हणून वापरणार असल्यास अशा प्रकारच्या लहान मोठ्या अपघातापासून बचाव व्हावा अशाप्रकारे वापरावा म्हणजे दुपट्ट्यामुळे होणाऱ्या व्यथांपासून मोकळीक मिळेल. अशाचप्रकारे स्लीव्हलर, गॅगवर दुपट्ट्याचे टोक पडून भाजल्याचे आपण ऐकले आहे. म्हणूनच हे सुंदर असे वस्त्र आपण अशा प्रकारे वापरावे की ज्यामुळे ते वस्त्र आपल्या पेहरावाला शोभा देईल, काही धोका देणार नाही. अपघातात ढकलणार नाही.

पल्लवी जोशी,

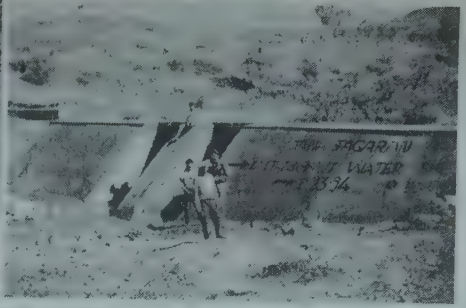
अनंतशयन गल्लीतील कचराकुंड स्वच्छ करा

बेळगाव येथील अनंतशयन गल्लीतील अनंतशयन मंदिराबाहेरच्या बाजूला कचराकुंड आहे. गेले कित्येक दिवस त्या कुंडांच्या बाहेर कचऱ्याचा ढीग पसरला असून सर्वत्र दुर्गंधी सुटलेली आहे. गल्लीतील लोकांनी या भागाच्या नगरसेवकाकडे तक्रार करूनही नगरसेवकाचे या स्वच्छतेकडे अक्षम्य दुर्लक्ष झाले आहे. फक्त मते मागण्यासाठीच हे लोक या रस्त्याने जा-ये करतात व संपर्क साधतात आणि आता हे कचऱ्याचे दुर्गंधीयुक्त ढीग यांना दिसत नाहीत काय? असे संतापजनक उद्गार गल्लीतील लोकांच्या तोंडून निघत आहेत. संबंधित अधिकाऱ्यांनी तरी या स्वच्छतेकडे लक्ष द्यावे व हा कचऱ्याचा ढीग हलविण्याची व्यवस्था करावी

अनेक नागरिक

सर्वोदयी कार्यकर्ते : शिवाजी कागणीकर





...गावासाठी श्रमदान करीत असताना

कट्टणभावीचा प्रकल्प असा अस्तित्वात

...काम करण्याची खरी गरज ग्रामीण भागातच आहे असे मला प्रथम वाटले होते, पण काम करता करता लक्षात आले की, शहरात ... केली तरी ती पुरेशी ठरणार नाही अशी परिस्थिती असून सध्या समाजच बदलण्याची गरज आहे हे पोटतिडिकेचे बोल आहेत श्री ...

एक सर्वोदयी कार्यकर्ते म्हणून श्री. कागणीकर बेळगांव परिसर व खेडोपाडी ... रात्रशाळा सुरू करण्यात आल्या. ग्रामीण पाणी प्रकल्प बनीकरण ... अनेक उपक्रमांचा राबता कागणीकरांनी ... सुरू केला आहे.

... कुटुंबात १९४४ मध्ये ते जन्मले घरात कोणीच शाळेची पायरी चढलेली नाही तरी त्यांनी अनेक अडचणींना तोंड देत शिक्षण घेतले. शिकाऊ वयातच समाज ... देईना ... आपल्यातूनच देशसेवा, ... करण्याची खूणगाठ बांधली होती. ... पण विद्यार्थी प्राध्यापक यांच्या बेशिस्तपणाने ... पूर्ण केले तर नोकरी ... करण्यात ... घरच्यांचा तीव्र ... त्यामुळे शेवटच्या ... परीक्षा ... दिली नाही.

स्वराज्याचा खरा अर्थ जनतेत रूजवावा ... याबाबत मनात विचारांचे मोहोळ उठले तोच १९७२ ला कडोलीतच अखिल भारतीय तरूण शांती सेना शिबिर पार पडले. तेथील वक्त्यांच्या विचाराचा प्रभाव व ... आदर्श यामुळे गावागावी ... तरूण शांती सेनेचे शिबिर म्हणजे ... समाजसेवेची गंगोत्रीच ठरले. त्यानंतर ग्रामस्वराज अभियानात ते सहभागी झाले. ... आंदोलनानंतर ते सर्वोदयी ... बांधले. त्यानंतर दोन वर्षे त्यांनी ... ग्रामस्वराज अभियानची स्थापना ... १९७८ पासून आजपर्यंत त्यांचे ... काम सुरू आहे.

जनजागरण, संस्थांची स्थापना

ग्रामीण भाग व मागासलेल्या गावी १९७८ साली त्यांनी फादर ज्यो चन्नाकला यांच्या मदतीने बेळगांव, खानापूर, बैलहोंगल, गोकाक, रामदुर्ग या तालुक्यात जनजागरण संस्था स्थापन केल्या. याअंतर्गत रात्रशाळा बालवाडया, आरोग्य केंद्रे, महिला संघ स्थापन करणे, फंड जमा करणे असे काम सुरू केले. शिवाय भूतारामहट्टी, सुतकट्टी परिसरातील बेरड वस्तीत दहा गावी रात्रशाळा सुरू करण्यात आल्या.



दरम्यान एका वृत्तपत्रात गोबर गॅसबद्दल त्यांनी वाचले आणि बेळगांव व खानापूर तालुक्यात जवळजवळ आठ हजार यंत्रे बसवली कडोलीमध्ये ९०० गोबर गॅस बसवल्याने खत इंधनाची सोय झाली आणि भारतात या गावचा प्रथम क्रमांक आला.

याच दरम्यान वडगांव शहापूरमधील यंत्रमाग कामगारांनी लढा पुकारला व एक हजार कामगार संपावर गेले यावेळी त्यांच्या लढ्यात भाग घेतल्याने कम्युनिस्ट विचारांची ओळख झाली खरी, पण या संघटनेत त्यांचा सहभाग अल्पकाळच होता

१९८४ मध्ये बुळकांडी रोगाने १५०० हून अधिक बकऱ्या दगावल्या. यासाठी घनगर बांधवात जनजागृती केली. १९८९ मध्ये जागृत कुरबर सहकार संघाची स्थापनाही केली. त्याद्वारे बकऱ्यांवर औषधोपचार करण्यास मदत झाली.

पाणी आडवा, पाणी जिरवा

समाजसेवक अण्णा हजारे यांच्यापासून स्फूर्ती घेऊन निंगेनहट्टी, गोरामट्टी व कट्टणभावी येथे गेल्या तीन वर्षापासून पाणी आडवा पाणी जिरवा हा प्रकल्प सुरू आहे.

या प्रकल्पासंबंध जर्मन विद्यापीठाची मदत लाभली असून प्रकल्पाचे काम तेथे कसे पोहोचले याचीही एक मजेदार कहाणी आहे

कट्टणभावी येथे ओढ्यावर एक चेक डॅम व एक मातीचा बांध बांधून झाला आहे व गावापाशी असलेले तळे खणण्याचे काम सुरू आहे. जर्मन विद्यापीठातील कांही विद्यार्थी फादर ज्यो यांच्यामुळे रात्रशाळेचे कामकाज पहायला आले रात्रशाळेची पाहणी करतानाच कांही माणसे रात्रीच्यावेळी कंदिलाच्या आधारे कांही खोदकाम करत आहेत हे त्यांनी पाहिले आणि चौकशी केली पाणी शोधण्यासाठी आपण हे काम करत असल्याचे ग्रामस्थानी सांगताच विद्यार्थ्यांना आश्चर्य वाटले केवळ पाण्यासाठी ही मंडळी एवढे कष्ट घेत असल्याचे पाहून जर्मन विद्यार्थ्यांच्या संघटनेने स्वत: मदत निधी गोळा केला व दीड लाख रूपये पाठवून दिले. असेच काम निंगेनहट्टी येथेही सुरू आहे बेरड वस्तीच्या या गावात पिण्याच्या पाण्याचा प्रश्न गंभीर आहे. गावांपासून दीड कि. मी. अंतरावर विहीर आहे. या विहिरीचे पाणी डिसेंबरमध्येच संपत असे. पर्यायी सोय म्हणून कागणीकरांनी ओढ्यातच ४०० फूट लांब व ३० फूट रूंद १० फूट खोल असे तळे ग्रामस्थांच्या सहकार्याने खोदले. याला बांध म्हणून शेतकी खात्याने तयार केलेल्या चेक डॅमचा उपयोग करून घेतला. उन्हाळ्यात या भागातील जनावरांना तीन कि. मी. हून अधिक अंतरावर असलेल्या घटप्रभा नदीवर पाण्यासाठी जावे लागे. आता मात्र तळ्यात साठवलेल्या पाण्याचाच उपयोग केला जात आहे.

पुढाकारामुळे काम

कागणीकरांच्या पुढाकाराने गोरामट्टी येथील महिला संघ खूप सक्रीय कार्य करत असून बेळगांव जिल्हा साक्षरता आंदोलनात महिला शाळेला विशेष पारितोषिक मिळाले. महिलांच्याच पुढाकाराने जंगल व्यवस्थापनात स्त्री-पुरुषांनी जंगल समिती स्थापन केली, आणि आता जंगल खात्याने गावांपासून ४०० फूट एवढ्या अंतराचे जंगल संरक्षणार्थ या समितीकडे सोपवलेय. या अंतरात कटाई व चराई दोन्ही करण्यास प्रतिबंध घालण्यात आला आहे.

श्री. कागणीकरांच्या मार्गदर्शनामुळे कट्टणभावी येथे पाच हजार आंब्याची झाडे तसेच काजू, आवळा, पपई, बांबू, फणस आदिंची लागवड करण्यात आली आहे. गावकऱ्यांचा श्रमदानाचा हातभार अर्थातच मोठा आहे.

महिलांचा निधी

गावच्या विकासासाठी केवळ शासनावर अवलंबून न राहता, गावकऱ्यांचा पुढाकारही महत्त्वाचा आहे असे मानणाऱ्या कागणीकरांनी प्रत्येक कुटुंबातील एका महिलेचा एक दिवसाचा पगार जमा करून ३२ हजार रूपये

व्यक्तिवेध

जमवले पुढील कामांची दुरूस्ती करणे किंवा गावांत एखादा उद्योग करायचा तर त्यासाठी ते वापरले जावेत असा यामागे उद्देश आहे.

विविध पुरस्कार

१९७८ पासून आजपर्यंत श्री. कागणीकरांचे जनजागरणचे काम सुरू आहे. या कार्यात ॲड. राम आपटे, अशोक देशपांडे व दिलीप कामत यांचे मार्गदर्शन त्यांना लाभलेले आहे.

ग्रामीण भागात विकासाचे काम केल्याबद्दल कागणीकरांना मधु लिमये पुरस्कार, बॅ. नाथ पै पुरस्कार लाभले आहेत.

मात्र तरीही कामाच्या वेगाइतकी प्रगती मात्र वेगाने होऊ शकत नाही, याबद्दल श्री. कागणीकर सतत अस्वस्थ असतात. शहरात सार्वजनिक सेवेची फारशी गरज नाही म्हणून त्यांनी आपल्या कामाचा केंद्रबिंदू ग्रामीण परिसरावरच केंद्रीत केला, पण दोन्हीकडे परिस्थिती सारखीच असून, कितीही सेवा केली तर पुरेशी ठरणार नाही असे ते म्हणतात.

एकूण समाजच बदलण्याची गरज असून सुजाण नागरिकांचा सक्रीय सहभाग आवश्यक आहे ही त्यांची अपेक्षा आहे. विविध ग्राम प्रकल्प राबवून विकासाची गंगा घरोघरी पोचवणाऱ्या श्री. कागणीकरांना शक्य ते सहकार्य करणे हे तुम्हा आम्हा सर्वांचे कर्तव्यच ठरते हे नक्की.

– मनीषा सुभेदार

ments in India consisted of fabric drapes, the back was very often left exposed. Move into the villages of Rajasthan and Kutch and one finds the *kanjari* — a mirrorwork blouse with an elongated front, totally backless with strategic strings that stand in the way of immodesty.

Move into urban fashion and the *choli* or blouse is most conducive to such revealing treatment. Since there is very little one can do with the drape of the sari except for a few options, the *choli* bears the creative brunt of the designer fraternity. The built-in *katori* cut that eliminates the bra allows the rear of the blouse to be tailored into the most daring possibilities. Modern Indian fashion designers like Wendell Rodricks and Hemant Trevedi have been taking liberties with their designs that play up the back. Wendell's recent summer collection had a *kaftan choli* which was prim and proper in the front reaching all the way down to the ankles, left the viewers gasping at the rear. His bridal gowns are elongated white satin *kurtis* with laced-up backs worn with trousers and a long organza coat for a dash of decorum

Hemant Trevedi has always felt that a woman's back is by far the sexiest part of the female anatomy. His fusion wear is designed to project the lady's back in the most enticing manner.

Yet with the lack of fabric for the rear part of the garment the most important item for a backless dress is a good smooth straight back. No spots, no blemishes, no hunch and definitely not a bony spinal column. The beauty of a back is as important for the backless gown as the rest of the woman's figure. Marilyn Monroe had the most seductive back. And so does Demi Moore, as many will agree, after seeing her in Striptease and in the Donna Karan ad.

Backless creations however are not necessarily sans fabric in that part of the garment. The neckline is prevalent but could take a plunge downwards at the rear. Or it could be scooped deeply below the waist. Or it could be laced together or maybe held together by just sheer magic.



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FARZANA

The age of innocence

Where ignorance is bliss, is it folly to be wise? asks **George Oommen**, contemplating a generation that grew up too soon

To know or not to know, that is the issue. When it comes to children who are born innocent, neither influenced by words of wisdom nor experienced the agony of awareness, there is no debate. It's a different world altogether.

Yet, the vision of children building sand castles, fishing in the ponds, climbing trees, is relegated to nostalgia. The flowing rivers pose no more challenge to the young adventurers as surfing the Net. Hide-and-seek, the almost simplistic yet popular sporting game gave way to Antakshari.

While some maintain that this is progress, others strongly feel that today's children are being denied a sense of wonder. Acquired practical knowledge derived from the electronic medium, has diverted the child's sourcing knowledge from nature.

As a child psychologist says, "Children ape what they see on the screen. They see a world out there which moves in nanoseconds, and wonder at their own slow pace of growth. And that's when the downslide begins."

Avinash, a six-year-old junior school student, is a product of the satellite television age. He knows how to react at different situations. To be in jovial mood at a party and to bring that touch of pain and concern when situations warrants so. And these are not shaped by parental influence. While one could argue that this is what is psychologically called an 'adapted child', the lack of feelings with which he plays out these emotions reinforces the idea that television kills a young mind, not to mention heart.

Veena Raghavan, a college professor, remembers those days: "I saw it with a shudder, the first trace of blood on my petticoat. ran to my mother, crying. But she just smiled, understandingly. And she told me to keep a distance from the boys, then on. I couldn't fathom the extent of its meaning, till awareness struck gradually. Today, with all those media exposure children know each and everything beforehand, even before they are meant to know it."

In contrast, 13-year-old Shailaja, studying in Std VIII, was well-prepared when she touched puberty. She didn't need to press the panic button. She approached it casually, and even informed her mother about her condition. She admits it was the ads on TV and the whisperings among her friends thereafter that had prepared her for the event.

If yesterday's children compromised on various issues, mainly due to lack of awareness, today's is a demanding generation. They know what they want. Nothing wrong with that, except that most of what they want is aided and abetted by the electronic age.

Their preferences also speak of an attitude. Anita Rajshekhar, a mother of 12-year-old boy, recalls this incident. The milkshake she'd made and left in the refrigerator for her son, wasn't what he was looking for. He called her at the office saying, 'We need to talk, so move it.' These are mild examples, nonetheless fashioned after a serial. Which is how children are often seen behaving as grown-ups, speaking from the same adult planes, on issues not at all related to their age.

If a child can make a sweeping judgment on an issue that needs a critical evaluation, and without the support of relevant experience, what's the totality of living? When things come prepacked and power-packed, where's the need for experimenting, adventure, or the basic impulse to experience?

Some argue that electronics have speeded up the evolution. Today's child is the child of electronics; fast-paced and looking for quick-fix solutions. The question of natural pace doesn't come at all. Evolution has become an archaic symbol. And a spell-bound parental generation spoon-feed their children to make them achieve what was practically impossible during their childhood.

Are we throttling the natural order, the very scheme of things? Now it's difficult to see a child conversing with nature. And who will when things are ready at the finger tip, be it the remote control or the mouse?

T K Madhavan, industrial engineer, is nostalgic: "When I was 10, I used to climb trees which had birds' nests on them. And then I'd watch everyday till the eggs were hatched. For that I had to wait for the parent birds to leave the tree in search of food. It took a long while, but it taught me patience."

"Something has been lost and I don't know how you make up for it. Whether you could, even, given that children aren't allowed to go out and do things themselves anymore. I think we are bringing up a set of people who expect an awful lot in the sense of consumer gifts and don't expect to be able to manage without things," writes Professor Elizabeth Newson, head of the child psychology unit at Nottingham University.

What is needed is a conducive environment for the children to enjoy the laughter and innocence of childhood, instead of facing the problems of violence, sex and discrimination.

It wasn't behavioural aberration, when De'Andre Dearinge, a seven-year-old boy, kissed a classmate and tore a button off her skirt in the US; it might be an innocent gesture. The boy was suspened for five days and then reinstated. But it points to a sensitive issue, the conditioning of a child.



मुव्ही क्लब

११.०० हिंदी चित्रपट, ११.१० मिड डे मार्केट, १४.०० हिंदी चित्रपट, १६.३० स्पोर्टस कार्यक्रम, १८.०० न्यू जेनिमल वर्ल्ड, १८.३० फ्रेम टू फ्रेम, १९.०० मार्केटस् टू नाईट, १९.२५ डीडी ३ वरील कार्यक्रम, १९.३० आर्ट मॅगझीन, २०.०० तसवीर-ई-हिंद, २०.३० चाट शो, २१.०० फिल्म वॉच, २१.३० कबीर बेदी प्रेझेंटेशन, २२.००इंग्रजी चित्रपट.

डी डी ९

१०.३० प्रायोजित कार्यक्रम, ११.०० नाटक, ११.३० टेलि फिल्म, १२.०० टेलि प्ले सुखी संसार, १२.३० कानडी चित्रपट, १६.३० प्रिमियर थॅनल, २०.३० चित्रमंजिरी, २१.०० नाटक, २१.३० कानडी चित्रपट.

बेंगलोर

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आकाशवाणी

सांगली

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पणजी

०७.०० संजीवनी, ०७.०५ हिंदुस्थानी शास्त्रीय संगीत, ०९.१५ रेडीयो शाळा, १२.३० नाट्यगीते, १७.४५ हिंदी पाठ, १८.३५ युवावाणी, १९.०० लोकजागर, १९.३० चायडेर, २१.३० मनपसंत गीते, २२.०० पाश्चात्य शास्त्रीय संगीत.

(कार्यक्रमाच्या रूपरेषेत ऐनवेळी बदल शक्य.)



ळी नेतृत्वाखाली
ळी उपोषण सुरू

कालपासून चर्चगेट येथील सम्राट हॉटेलसमोर साखळी उपोषण सुरू केले आहे.

अखिल भारतीय सेनेच्या कार्यकर्त्यांना पोलीस विनाकारण सतावत आहेत. संघटनेचा राजीनामा द्या, असा तगादा संघटनेच्या पदाधिकाऱ्यांमागे लावला जात

4.8.97 TB

वोलकार्ट अॅकॅडमीतर्फे २५ हजार रु. ची देणगी

गोकाक, दि. ३ (वार्ताहर)- मेलमनहट्टी येथील लक्ष्मीदेवी एज्युकेशन सोसायटीच्या श्री बसवेश्वर आदर्श प्रायमरी स्कूलला गोकाक फॉल्स येथील गोकाक मिलच्या वोलकार्ट अॅकॅडमीने २५ हजार रुपयांची देणगी नुकतीच जाहीर केली आहे.

आदर्श प्रायमरी स्कूलच्या इमारतीसाठी ही देणगी दिलेली आहे. सोसायटीचे अध्यक्ष डॉ. के. एस. कुरबेट यानी गोकाक मिलचे जनरल मॅनेजर जी. एस. मज्जगी, रॉबर्ट, बी. एस. पाटील आणि के. एस. राजू यांच्या सहकार्याबद्दल त्यांचे आभार मानले आहेत.

रम्यान हुकेरी
रसामुळे सर्वत्र

जमातीच्या कारागीरांना
ायुधांचे वितरण

हर)- नॅशनल
ट योजनेअंतर्गत
ीजन जमातीच्या
तू बनविण्याऱ्या
बनविण्यासाठी
याचा कार्यक्रम
ा.
दघाटन जिल्हा
न. कामत याच्या

मुर्डेश्वर येथील
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ध्या काळ बदलला
ी जोडली.
ोचे अध्यक्ष श्री.
ा कार्यक्रमाच्या

बैठक

(वार्ताहर) -
ठी शासनाचे लक्ष
काऱ्यानी तत्पर
काडा अध्यक्ष व
के.डी. पी. च्या
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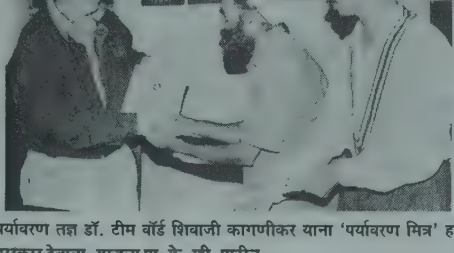
लोंढ्यातील पॅचवर्क
सार्व. बांधकाम ख

लोंढा, दि. ३ (वार्ताहर)- गावातील रस्त्यांचे ऐन पावसाळ्याच्या तोंडावर करण्यात आलेले 'पॅचवर्क' संपूर्णता वाया झाले असून रस्ता पूर्वीपेक्षा खराब झाला आहे. माननीय मंत्र्यांच्या बैठकीत जनतेला दिलेल्या आश्वासनाची पूर्ती करण्यात आली असे भासवून नागरिकांच्या तोंडाला पाने पुसण्याचा प्रयत्न संपूर्णतः वाया गेला आहे.

एप्रिल महिन्यात खानापूर येथे माननीय उद्योगमंत्री श्री. आर. व्ही. देशपांडे यानी एक जनसभा बोलावली होती. यावेळी लोंढा, येथील प्रतिनिधींनी इतर समस्येबरोबरच लोंढा स्टेशन ते राष्ट्रीय महामार्गपर्यंतचा रस्ता व बसस्टँडचा रस्ता संदर्भात एक निवेदन दिले होते. यावर मंत्रिमहोदयानी सार्वजनिक बांधकाम खात्याच्या अधिकाऱ्यांना सदर रस्त्यांची तातडीने दुरुस्ती हाती घेऊन ३१ मे पर्यंत पूर्ण करण्याची ताकीद दिली होती.

अध्यक्षस्थानी होते.

या कार्यक्रमाला कायकिणी व मुर्डेश्वर पंचायतीचे सदस्य उपस्थित होते.



पर्यावरण तज्ञ डॉ. टीम वॉर्ड शिवाजी कागणीकर याना 'पर्यावरण मित्र' हा पुरस्कार देताना, बाजूला प्रा. के. व्ही. पाटील

शिवाजी कागणीकर यांना 'पर्यावरण मित्र' पुरस्कार

बेळगांव, दि. ३- मेसॉनिक हॉल कॅम्प येथे पर्यावरण दिनानिमित्त झालेल्या सभेमध्ये कट्टणभावी- कडोली परिसरातील पर्यावरणवादी कार्यकर्ते श्री. शिवाजीराव कागणीकर यांच्या कार्याचा गौरव करून त्याना 'पर्यावरण मित्र' पुरस्कार न्यू मेक्सिको स्टेट युनिव्हर्सिटी मेक्सिको अमेरिका येथील प्रा. डी. टीम वॉर्ड (पर्यावरण, स्थापत्य व विभाग) यांच्या हस्ते देण्यात आला. शिवाजी कागणीकर हे थनगर समाजात जन्मले. लहानपणापासून त्यांनी साने गुरुजीचा आदर्श समोर ठेवला व त्यांच्यासारखे शिक्षक होण्याचे ठरविले. पण बी. एस.सी शेवटच्या वर्षी त्याना शाळेत शिकवण्यापेक्षा न शिकलेल्याना शिकवणे महत्वाचे वाटले व त्यांनी खेड्यातील लोकांना फावल्यावेळात शिकवणे सुरू केले. सरपणासाठी होणारी वृक्षतोड थांबविण्यासाठी त्यानी खादी ग्रामोद्योगाच्या सहकार्याने गोबर गॅस प्लॅट योजना राबवली आतापर्यंत कड्डोली, कडणभावी परिसरात अंदाजे ७००० हजार गोबर गॅस कार्यान्वित केली. त्याचबरोबर वृक्षतोडीमुळे कमी पाऊस म्हणून पाण्याचे दुर्भिक्ष यावर उपाय म्हणून पाझर तलावाचे काम हाती घेतले व त्याच तलावाच्या परिसरात ८००० झाडे लावली. ज्यामुळे कडणभावी हा परिसर आता पिण्याच्या पाण्याच्या विवंचनेतून मुक्त झाला.

श्री. शिवाजीराव यानी लोकशिक्षणाद्वारे पर्यावरण रक्षणाचे काम केले. कट्टणभावी, बंबरगे, देवगिरी, कोरामहळ्ळी, कुरीहाळ या भागातील डोंगर विरान होते. पण आता श्री. कागणीकर यानी आपल्या सहकाऱ्यांच्या सहभागाने या संपूर्ण प्रदेशात मोठ्या प्रमाणावर वृक्षारोपण केले आहे. या कामी जनजागरणावर त्यांचा भर असतो. या कामासाठी त्याना आतापर्यंत 'बॅ. नाथ पै पुरस्कार', डॉ. अरुण लिमये पुरस्कार असे अनेक पुरस्कारही प्राप्त झाले.

सौदी अरेबियातल्या स्त्रिया

मध्या सौदी अरेबियातल्या स्त्रिया फावल्या वेळात एक उद्योग करतात घरात कोणी नाही असे पाहून त्या मनाला येईल तो क्रमांक फोनवर फिरवून अनोळखी पुरुषांशी चावट गप्पा मारण्यात आनंद मानतात आणि हा प्रकार मोठ्या प्रमाणावर चालू आहे अशी साहिती आहे.

सर्वसाधारणपणे फोनवरून अश्लील संभाषण करण्याचा हक्क पुरुषांचा असतो! पण इतक्या धार्मिकतेच्या वातावरणातल्या स्त्रियांनी त्यात पुढाकार घ्यावा ही

[illegible] नावाखाली स्त्रियांचा कोंडमारा मोठ्या प्रमाणात करण्यात येत आहे. जबरदस्तीने पडद्याची [illegible] पेट्रोडॉलरमुळे [illegible] गोष्टी ना [illegible] कवाडं [illegible] फावल्या वेळात असे [illegible] नवीन तरुण नवरे.

औषधी कंपन्यांची अक्षम्य गुन्हेगारी:

लंडन येथे नुकतेच एक पुस्तक प्रसिद्ध झाले. त्यामुळे वैद्यक जगतात एकच खळबळ उडाली आहे. जॉन ब्रेथवेट व केरीन पॉल या लेखकद्वयीनी लिहिलेल्या Corporate Crime in the Pharmaceutical Industry या पुस्तकात जगभरच्या औषधी कंपन्यांनी नफेखोरीपोटी चालवलेले अक्षम्य गुन्हे उजेडात आणले आहेत.

सर्वसाधारणपणे मादक द्रव्याचा चोरटा व्यापार, दहशतवाद्याच्या हालचाली आणि तस्करी ही आंतरराष्ट्रीय गुन्हेगारीतली 'बडी' मंडळी मानली जातात. पण आंतरराष्ट्रीय व्यापाराच्या नावाखाली औषधी कंपन्यांनी राजरोसपणे चालवलेल्या लुबाडणुकीच्या तुलनेत ही तस्करी मंडळी साधुपुरुष म्हणावी लागतील.

ज्यांच्या विश्वासावर कोटयावधी रोगी डोळे झाकून श्रद्धा ठेवून औषधे घेतात, त्या औषधी कंपन्यानी चालवलेली फसवणूक ही केवळ अक्षम्य आहे.

"Corporate Crime....." या पुस्तकात दिलेले एक उदाहरण इतके भीषण आहे की, वाचणाऱ्यांच्या अंगावर शहारे उभे रहातात. ते असे-

दुसऱ्या महायुद्धाच्या काळातील जर्मन औषध कंपनी आय जी फारबेन (आताच्या बायर, हेस्ट व बी.ए.एस.एफ. यांची मूळ कंपनी) ही ऑस्वीज या नाझींच्या छावणीमधील कैदी स्त्रियांचा वापर औषधाच्या प्रयोगासाठी किती अमानुषपणे व थडपणे करत असे यावर प्रकाशझोत टाकणारा पत्रव्यवहार उघड [illegible] आला आहे. ऑस्वीजच्या [illegible] कंपनी लिहिते.

[illegible] केल्याबद्दल धन्यवाद.....पण प्रत्येक [illegible] बदलून [illegible] अमानुष [illegible] लागतील [illegible] मिळाल्या [illegible] असल्या [illegible] होत्या..... चांचण्या घेण्यात आल्या [illegible] मालकाला [illegible] लिहिल आहोत [illegible] संचालकाला [illegible] शिक्षा झाली [illegible] रहे करून त्याना पन्हा संचालकपदी नेमल गल'

फक्त नाझी राजवटीमध्येच असे अमानुष प्रयोग औषधी कंपन्या कर असे नाही तर आजदेखील मागास [illegible] औषधांच्या वापरासाठी व चाचणीसाठी बिनदिक्कत होत आहे! डाल्कन शील्डस या सतत्री प्रतिबंधक [illegible] मेल्या. तेव्हा तेथे त्यावर बदी घालण्यात आली पण अमेरिकन सरकारने ही उपकरणे कंपनीकडून [illegible] 'मदत' म्हणून विकली!

■ सुदीप



अमेरिकेचे घातपात महाविद्यालय

"दि न्यूयॉर्क पोस्ट" या अमेरिकन दैनिकाने नुकतीच मेंदूला बधीर करणारी माहिती जगासमोर मांडली आहे. अमेरिकेतील अल्बामा येथे फ्रँक कॅपर नावाचे गृहस्थ एक प्रशाला चालवतात. व्हिएतनामच्या युद्धात क्रौर्य गाजवलेल्या या माजी सैनिकाने आपल्या शस्त्रास्त्र व दारूगोळा याच्या ज्ञानाचा आधार घेऊन पैसे कमावण्यासाठी ही 'कलाकार' शाळा काढली. ७७ एकराचे प्रशस्त आवार असलेल्या या विद्यालयात प्रवेश घेण्यासाठी फक्त ३५० डॉलर्स (सुमारे बेचाळीसशे रूपये) फी भरावी लागते. हो, पण शिकवले काय जाते? जगातील कोणत्याही देशातील नेत्यांचे खून कसे करावेत, मोठमोठी विमाने कशी पाडावीत, बॉंबस्फोट करून असंख्य निरपराध्यांची हत्या कशी करावी वगैरे वगैरे. दहशतवाद्यांना आवश्यक व अत्यंत उपयुक्त ज्ञानासाठी कॅपरसारखा शिक्षक नाही!

कपोलकल्पित कथा वाटते की नाही? पण खर वाटल नाही तर शीख दहशतवाद्यांना विचारा. परवा 'कनिष्क' जंबोजेट आयर्लंडजवळ पाडण्याचे घातपाती कृत्य केल्याचा संशय असलेले दोन शीख अतिरेकी, लालसिंग व अम्मंदसिंग याच महाविद्यालयात प्रशिक्षित झाले. वेगवेगळे बॉम्ब कसे हाताळावेत, इस्त्रेली मडडी सब-मशीन गन कशी चालवावी, एम्-१६ ही केव्हा, वापरावी ही सर्व माहिती आपण या दहशतवाद्यांना दिली असल्याचं कॅपर यानी मुलाखतीत स्पष्ट केले.

या सर्व ज्ञानाचा उपयोग तुमचे विद्यार्थी कशासाठी करणार आहेत याचा तुम्हाला अंदाज नव्हता काय या प्रश्नाला उत्तर देताना कॅपरने सांगितले की, मला संपूर्ण माहिती अर्थातच होती. पण मी फक्त ज्ञानदानाचे काम करतो. त्या ज्ञानाचा उपयोग कोण कशासाठी करतो हा ज्याचा त्याचा प्रश्न आहे.

दिल्ली येथील एका मुलीच्या शाळेतील पिण्याच्या पाण्यात विष मिसळून अनेक निरागस बालिकांना यमसदनी पाठवायची योजना या शीख दहशतवाद्यांनी आखली होती अशी मेंदूला झिणझिण्या आणणारी माहिती कॅपरने दिली आहे.

कॅपरच्या वायकोला पत्रकारांनी प्रश्न केला की तुम्हाला या [illegible]

कोणाला वाटेल की, ही शाळा गुप्तपणे चालवली जाते, पण नाही. अगदी [illegible] करून [illegible] मिळवलात. फेडरल ब्युरो ऑफ [illegible] देशातील सी.आय.डी.प्रमाणे) गन्हेगारांचा शोध घेणारी संस्था. तर या FBI ला फ्रँक कॅपर याच्या शाळेची संपर्ण माहिती आहे. पण ते याबाबत [illegible]

राष्ट्रपती रीगन दहशतवाद्यांच्या नाबाने [illegible] आपल्या देशात FBI च्या नाबाखाली चाललेल्या या भाडोत्री मारेकऱ्यांना शिक्षण देणाऱ्या या खाजगी शाळांविषयी न [illegible] शिक्षण देणाऱ्या शाळांविषयी मात्र [illegible] अमेरिकन [illegible] माहिती एफ.बी.आय.ला आहे.)

[illegible] मात्र [illegible] हे अमेरिकेचा बगलबच्चा! त्याला विरोध करणारे लोकशाहीवादी म्हणजे रीगन यांच्या मते कम्युनिस्ट!" या [illegible] अनेक नेत्यांचा खून घडवून आणल्याची [illegible] विद्यार्थी [illegible] गाजवली. [illegible] रीगन सरकार या अनैतिक जादूदाराकडे [illegible]

परवा [illegible] राजीव गांधी अमेरिकेला [illegible] असता त्यांच्या खिशात कट कोणी [illegible] शीख अतिरेक्यांचे [illegible] हे प्रसिद्ध झाले आहेच. तो कट एफ.बी.आय.ने उघड केला. याबाबत साक्ष देण्यासाठी एफ.बी.आय.ने कॅपरसाहबाना बोलवलंय. कारण हा कटदेखील याच पवित्र शाळेत शिजवण्यात [illegible]

आपल्या माजी विद्यार्थ्यांनी जगातील विविध [illegible] ठार करण्याचे ब्लू प्रिंटस तयार केल्याचे कॅपरने जण मोठया अभिमानाने सांगितले. [illegible] येथील वास्तव्यास [illegible] सरकार खाली खेचण्यासाठी [illegible] घातपाती कृत्य करण्यात सध्या आपले [illegible] माहितीही या महाशयांनी पुरवली आहे.

सत्य हे [illegible] असते सत्य हे

Autonomy

June 1, 1992 Price Rs. 2/-

AUTONOMY

Men and women, institutions, localities and social formations all clamour for autonomy today. Just as liberty was at one time, autonomy today is assuming the proportions of a principle of governance of the life of individual and society. It is assuming the proportions of a liberating principle. Just as bondage leads to demands of liberty and subjugation leads to demands of independence and liberation, similarly interference, particularly gross and persistent interference leads to demands of autonomy.

The world today consists of nation-states. These are the only independent and sovereign units which are publicly recognised and acknowledged as such. As it is such a reality has come to subsist in the post-war period and is less than half-a-century old. However as is well known the economies of the Third World Nations are highly dependent on the finances and technologies of the Western world. This makes them compromise, often in a big way, their independence and sovereignty. With the passage of time such compromises have been on the increase and the ruling classes of the Third World nations are growingly assuming the status of brokers.

However these nation-states are not homogeneous entities. They consist of various ethnic and social formations, castes and creeds, regions of systematically different geography and faiths etc. Their culture and modes of life have been trampled upon right from the early days of imperialism. This phenomenon of gross outside interference in their culture and ways of life was partly mitigated in the transformation from colonies to independent nation-states. But nation-states in the Third World are only poor replicas of the capitalist formations of European origin. They brought into existence new forms of interference often more subtle, in the name, very often, of democracy and progress. The educational system estranges people from the time honoured social and moral values; the industrial system estranges them from their physical resources; the agricultural policy alienates from them the product of their own labour. In almost all dimensions of life the state, that is the law making and implementing central authority, interferes in a big way. It is this interference that has emerged today as the chief immediate cause of alienation and estrangement in peoples lives. It is this interference which at one end opens scope for excessive corruption and criminalisation and at the other becomes an instrument of depriving people of whatever is theirs, be it in any field-culture, economics, governance, education, scholarship, philosophies and what have you. It is in such a situation that autonomy has tended to become the leading principle of movements of people for some time now.

Punjab, Jharkhand, North Bengal, Kashmir and Tamilnadu have witnessed distinct movements in which autonomy was a central issue. In these movements the issues of self-determination, political independence, ethnic sovereignty etc have got mixed up with the question of autonomy. In reality, it must be recognised that, autonomy is always likely to be associated with these and/or other concepts relevant for that particular site or social formation. However it is of cardinal importance that 'autonomy' should be properly understood without being confused with any of these concepts.

The concept of autonomy is dear to our people because it has been the governing principle of Indian society from times immemorial. This society was organised on the basis of autonomy of localities, autonomy of castes, autonomy of village and autonomy of the dharma-sampradayas. The individual had his autonomy within the spheres of these social, political and cultural formations. The leading ideal was satya whose practical form was dharma, the day-to-day regulating and uniting principle. The industry, agriculture, economics and politics of such a society conformed to the autonomous setting. Swarajya and swadeshi are principles of such a society. This is just to indicate the nature of the principle of autonomy in our heritage and obviously not to argue for the autonomy of village or caste in the present day world. The concrete nature of the principle of autonomy today must be worked out in the context of the present day realities.

Theoretically, therefore, autonomy means a system of rights and freedoms in the context of duty towards an agreed upon common framework and a principle of unity. The rights and freedoms relate to all department of human life-cultural, religius, economic, political, social, etc. The common framework and the principle of unity relates to all these and in a way embodies a moral code. This moral code may be expressed as dharma or as certain political principles or in terms of a juridical code or for that matter as a combination of all these and others. This is the most general code of social conduct. The conflicts between rights and freedoms of the autonomous configurations on the one hand and the duties towards the uniting principle on the other give rise to reforms and movements for reform. The reformist movement may pertain to religion, to politics, to culture and society or to the Constitution depending upon the real conditions.

In this light, the autonomy movement today is a reformist movement. It is asking for reform in the rights and freedoms of the localities, it is asking for reform in the uniting political and economic principles. It is noteworthy that those who have been asking for financial, political or cultural autonomy have not challenged the idea and the necessity of a uniting principle. Separatism is alien to autonomy and those who are mixing the two in public life today are indulging in disruptive mischief and doing a great harm to the nation and the people of this subcontinent.

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

GATT-ALL WRONG?

Agriculture is, to paraphrase an expression that the gulf war produced, quite literally the mother of all economic activity. It is the only human enterprise which multiplies use values. This is something that the theory of market economics managed to bury in the myriad concepts of value it threw up. Also, this is something that holds a pivotal position around which revolve the assertions and the demands of farmers' movement in the country. The essential point is that modern industrial development, at least as it has been understood in the so called less developed countries (LDC's), is unthinkable without the exploitation of the agricultural population for transfers of physical and capital resources needed by the industry The industry-agriculture relation is such as to destroy the autonomy of both. The results are devastating for the agricultural people in nations where they form a vast majority of the total population. Nations which have less than ten or fifteen per cent population on land manage to take care of that population by pressurising international community.

The current round of GATT negotiations has brought this ambiguous position of agricultural population round the globe into sharp focus. The first point about the ongoing GATT negotiations is the difference in the type of opposition evoked by it from the western industrialized world on the one hand and by the third world countries on the other. The western countries, particularly the European Community, are opposed to the proposals regarding reduction of agricultural subsidies. The opposition of countries like India is mainly about the issue of so called intellectual property rights and the effect that acceptance of GATT would have on drug prices. Fears have also been expressed about the frighteningly comprehensive nature of GATT proposals. These proposals are seen as something in the nature of an attempt at World Government through the Western model.

The second point is the differences in the intra-nation consensus on the opposition to GATT. The European Community as a whole as a collective of nation states is opposed to GATT liberalization of trade in agricultural products. In countries like India, where the farmers are capable of an articulate expression, the opposition of GATT is restricted to the urban population. The farmers of these countries welcome the GATT proposals for liberalization of trade in agricultural products. There is no comparable split within any of the western nations on response to GATT.

However, there are differences of opinion between western nations. The chief irony about responses to GATT proposals on liberalization of agricultural trade is that it is the USA, and not countries like India, which is pressurising the EC to fall in line with GATT proposals. The EC has recently agreed to incorporate a 29 per cent reduction in grain prices in its Common Agricultural Policy. The irony is two-fold. Firstly, it is countries like India which stand to gain most if trade in agricultural products is freed from different types of incentives and disincentives. Secondly, it is USA which gained by flouting GATT on agricultural trade liberalization during the last four decades and is now opposed to protective tariffs and subsidies on agricultural produce by EC. These are tariffs and subsidies of the same type which USA itself used for protecting its own agriculture. The general GATT principle is to do away with all types of incentives and disincentives in trade. In 1955, USA forced GATT to make exceptions to this principle by allowing it controls necessary to carry out its own farm programmes. The USA then found that even these exceptions did not serve its purpose and violated GATT with impunity. Today it finds that this precedent set by itself is being used by EC for justifying export subsidies/import levies on agricultural produce in its Common Agricultural Policy. In other words, the whole episode is thief A calling thief B a thief and B calling A's bluff.

The history of trade tariffs and subsidies shows that, inspite of GATT, liberalization has remained a pipe-dream. D. Gale Johnson in his article "Agriculture in the Liberalization Process" has traced the dynamics of levels of protection in agricultural- produce trade among nation-states. The outstanding feature is the ever increasing positive protection of agriculture by developed industrial nations vis a vis the strong negative protection by LDC's. Large scale positive protection of agriculture by European countries and USA started in late 1920's. The tariff levels as measured in percentage of export prices were as high as 82.5% in Germany, 102% in Finland, 133% in Bulgaria in 1931. The rates of protection in Western European countries, as measured by price support costs as percentage of gross agricultural output, increased from an average of 16 per cent in 1956 to 52 per cent in 1965-67. Similar is the picture for Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. Japanese protection for rice and wheat increased from around 50 per cent in 1955-59 to about 250- 275 in 1980-82. South Korea, a country which did not protect its agriculture in 1955-59, became a strong protector, with protection levels of 100 to 200 per cent in 1980-82. Contrary to this, in the third world countries the scenario is one of negative protection throughout. Compared to international prices in 1983, in India, farmers were domestically paid 35% less for rice and 20% less for wheat. Johnson says, ".... there is no historical precedent for the wide prevalence of negative protection extending over long periods of time such as prevails in many developing countries today. The difference in degree is great indeed".

Johnson also shows how the tariff structure for trade in processed agricultural products is loaded against the farmer of countries like India. LDC's tax the export of raw farm produce, industrial nations do not tax its import. On the other hand the latter tax the import of processed farm produce like oils and yarn. In any event the burden of processing, or, rather of the protection extended to processing, falls on the shoulders of the farmer of LDC's, no matter where the processing is done.

The farmer in India thus bears a dual burden of inequitous internal trade as well as the biased tariff structures in international trade. With him, given the strong burden-transfer mechanisms that exist, the entire rural setup is crushed under that burden. If the system of import levies, deficiency payments export-import quotas, and the like is killed, the international market in raw and processed agricultural produce is bound to move in a direction favourable to the health of rural economy. This can create conditions in which rural people can throw off their shackles - a necessary premise for generating autonomous development mechanisms.

This is not to say that liberal trade is any long term panacia for the rural third world. If GATT were to have its way all through, the third world would probably become an agricultural hinterland feeding the Western industry and shackled by a variety of technological patent laws - a scenario not inimical to the West. The main point is simply that of generating enough strength in the rural populations so that they can face the urban system of the country and move towards regaining their autonomy.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Published by Girish Sahasrabudhe and K. K. Surendran, 3/9, VHB (MIG) Colony, Giripeth, Nagpur – 440 010.

Jharkhand Economy : its Condition and a Plan for Development

Jharkhand (The Land of Forests) abundant in mineral and forest wealth, is rightly called the resource region of India. Over 60% of the minerals is mined from here. It was already the centre of steel and coal mining industries in British India. During the very first five year plan many big industries came up which during subsequent plan periods developed into large projects resulting in very rapid industrialisation of this region. In spite of all this the striking truth is the extreme poverty and backwardness of the people of this region. Jharkhand is extremely rich and its people extremely poor! The question is why it is so?

About 60-70 years ago when the big industries had not arrived, the people of Jharkhand were equal members of a traditional, economically self sufficient, autonomous social setup. Only the people whose land had been looted by the outsiders (zamindars, tax collectors, officials etc) were poor. After independence, along with the rapid industrialisation, with projects planned and executed from Patna, Calcutta, Bhuwaneshwar and above all Delhi, we find a correspondingly a rapid deterioration in the condition of the people. Farm and forest produce, earlier bartered by the people, were increasingly exchanged for the Rupee, whose value kept decreasing. The exchange value of the produce kept decreasing while the demands of ordinary life went on increasing. The established traditional economy started fast breaking down.

For example, Lac used to fetch about Rupees 2/- per Kg fifty years back when rice used to sell at 20 seers a rupee; the exchange rate for Lac was thus profitable for the people. Agricultural production was also profitable, there was more forest cover bearing good rainfall and there was no need for artificial manure. The dry leaves of the forest was simply burnt and mixed with the water flowing into the fields. There were rivers and streams for irrigating dry lands. The farmer collected and sold Lac, seeds of Amla, Sal, Mahua, Neem, Chiranjee, Kusum etc. He made and sold ropes with the Sawai grass and barks of trees. There were plenty of other things to eat which could be dried and preserved for the bad days. The agricultural implements used to be made by the people- each village had Lohar and Kumbhar and wood for the plough as available in the forest. Cotton used to be grown here and cloth was woven by the people. They extracted oils from the seeds of Sargooja, Sarsom, Mahua and Kusum for eating; Karanj and Neem oils for massage and medicines; Koindi oil for lubricating the bullockcart wheels, Rendi oil for lighting, lubrication etc. In the villages of the plains there were small embankment and tanks and one main crop and subsidiary crops used to be good. In some regions the farmer could harvest two crops.

Manufacturing activity used to be carried out in the small scale sector within this self sufficient economic setup. Apart from textile manufacturing, various articles were manufactured from Lac and even exported. Processing of leather (with salt and barks of trees) and manufacturing of leather goods used to take place. The Jogi (cast name) made blankets while the Bhokta (cast name) made moody, chuda etc from the grains. The farmer used to cultivate sugercane and made Gur. The Sawai grass was cultivated and there was manufacturing activity based on the ropes from it. Fishery was an important activity and so was animal husbandry; animals from this region were sought after in far away markets. Village markets, Haats, flourished. Lohardagga, Surgooja, Silkpithoria, Gangpur, Govindpur, Yashpur, Chattara, Tamar formed the important network of markets which attracted goods from all the villages and even far away places. Thus, in Lohardagga market, earthenware and utensils from Sambalpur in Orrisa and rice, salt, brass vessels from Yashpur and Sargooja (today in M.P.) used to be common while cast iron from Bandgaon-Chakradharpur used to go to Yashpur-Sargooja.

There was a system of finance which was based on cooperation and a sense of equality in the community which practiced the tradition of mutual help - Madait, which is prevelant in some form even today. Thus a whole village helped a household in making a house, in harvesting and sowing operations and those who helped did not receive wages but partook the meals with the household. This naturally provided lot of relief to the poorer section in the villages especially during marriages and other ceremonies and rendered the necessary balance within the economic levels. Families used to donate grain for the public granary which was utilised to provide loans to the villagers, building of schools etc. The early Christian Missionaries introduced cooperative societies in this area which prospered into the likes of the Chota-Nagpur Central Christian Cooperative Bank. The finance of the cooperative societies were related to this Bank and the whole money belonged to the people and not outsiders. The prosperity can be gauged when one recalls that in those days (1900) a society would have about Rs. 5000/- with it. The society ran schools, advanced money for agricultural operations etc. The whole system slowly degenerated with the machinations of the agents and inspectors of the British raaj and later the supervisors and officers of the Central Congress Govt. The entry of the outsider in the financial management slowly destroyed the tradition of mutual help. Finally many farmers lost their lands and the societies themselves went into liquidation.

That was the nature of the self sufficient economy of this region. Later mill made cloths appeared in the markets, spinning and weaving came to a halt and cotton cultivation stopped. Agricultural implements and other iron goods started coming rendering the Lohaars jobless. Footwear and leather goods rendered the leather industry uneconomical. The small scale consumer goods industry spreading out in all the villages was grinding to a halt with a new shape of the economy. What is the fundamental difference between the old self reliant economy and the new system? The difference lies in that the old system was spread out healthily in the villages at grassroot level while today hundreds of miles of villages lie barren; all the hustle bustle is limited to a few cities.

We have to now ask the question why was the traditional self sufficient system broken up? It is often said that the traditional economy was backward and just didn't go with the culture and social relations of the new order. But then we have to ask what is the aim of any economic order? We think that, for any society, whatever its place in that historical ladder of economic and social advancement, the aim must be to maintain its self reliance according to the real historical conditions prevailing in it, while meeting the physical needs of its people. In Jharkhand, within the old order, the people did not live as a faceless horde of starving bodies with hungry eyes. Today, after the industrialisation, six lakhs of people displaced from their land roam around as perennially unemployed, like the hunters four thousand years ago. A self reliant, just and culturally advanced social order lies dismantled. Should we accept this blind industrialisation and the new culture as the standard of progress? And, even if the main aim is to satisfy the physical needs of a society with plenty of production, why was traditional system not made more efficient, more productive, more modern?

Our planners and Govt. proclaimed that the aim is to make India a self reliant economy. If they really mean what they say, then why was the self reliant economy of Jharkhand destroyed? We are told that this was done to make the whole country self reliant. But, then, it is a strange logic indeed; some what like killing someone for the life of someone else. If the meaning of a self reliant country is not in the self reliance of its various constituents then what else is it? Do we have to keep destroying the self reliance and self sufficiency of each part to make the whole country self reliant?

What has happened to Jharkhand is not beyond our comprehension. We know that the power which destroyed our economy is the power of the exploitative capitalist system with its

sole motive as profit, which is thriving in the country and the whole world. The new system is parasitic but strong, which mercilessly strangles a weak but autonomous people. Take the example of the traditional Karanj Oil Industry which is non existent today. Why? The Modern soap industry of Hindustan Lever, Tata and Godrej requires Karanj oil. The oil seeds are simply taken out cheaply from the region. Take the case of Lac, the price of which has fallen so much that the farmer is no longer willing to grow the trees and extract Lac. India was the major exporter of Lac in the world market yielding precious foreign exchange. But today it is Thailand. How? The 4-5 exporters, who have monopoly of this trade, built up their stocks and sold at very high prices in the international market for huge profits once and Thailand cornered the market with cheaper export. The Lac bought from the farmers at 1-3 rupees a Kg is sold at about the 10 times price by the exporters. With fall in export the price of Chapda, made in factories from Lac, was not reduced instead the demand was kept low so that lac now fetched Rs. 2/-. The factory owners making Chapda negotiated with the Commerce ministry to decrease the price of the farmer. In fact the State Govt. fixed the price of Lac at Rs.3/- and appointed agents for purchase from farmers which further worsened the situation. The agents ganged up with the trader-money lenders and bought less than their quota, forcing the remaining to be sold still cheaper to the private traders. The farmer was now selling at 75 paise a Kg and the trader weighed in one and three quarter Kg instead of one saying the Lac contained mud! With no money with the farmer the Haats came to a stand still. The angry farmers started cutting and selling the trees bearing Lac. Thus we can see that the economic system of Jharkhand did not collapse because it was backward but under the onslaught of the stronger trader capitalist system. And if this new system destroyed the self sufficient economy of Jharkhand how can it make the country self reliant?

We will now outline a plan for the future. The forest is a source of abundant renewable resources that is to come up in Jharkhand. For a long time the forest is being destroyed and misused for profit of traders, contractors and industrialists with active support of the Govt. Earlier the villagers and zamindars essentially owned the whole forest and looked after it. The degeneration of forest resulted from the wrong policies and practices of the administrative officials and forest contractors. The large population of Jharkhand whose livelihood depends on the forest should be once again be made responsible for looking after it. Small scale industries based on the abundant forest produce and appropriate modernization of the traditional industries should be setup to make the whole people once again actively participate in the march towards a self reliant Jharkhand economy. Let us give examples of the produces involved in the drain of wealth from here and finding a place in the new self sufficient economy.

The Chiranjee fruit has a nut used widely as an additive in sweet and savories, cakes, breads etc. Now the farmer exchanges a basket of nuts for twenty packets of salt from the trader, casting Rs. 5-7/-. The same is sold for Rs. 30/- in Lucknow and Delhi. Similarly with the Mahua and the Kusum seeds. The trader buys one basket (5-7 Kg) of mahua seeds for 1-2 rupees which is sold to the Hindustan Lever at many times that price for its multi crore soap industry. Amla goes from Palamau to Gaziabad; where its oil is extracted; it is also bought off cheaply by Dabur, Baidyanath and others. The traditional Sal forests are being replaced by Teak by Forest Department for the sake of better timber. But Sal seeds are eaten, has 12% oil which is used in chocolate and soap industry, the oil cake used for animal feeds and manure. Then there are several tree barks from which medicines, colours and varnishes are made outside Jharkhand. The leaves of Gungoo are taken to south India where it is used in the packaging industry. There are plenty of herbs, medicinal plants and roots which are the source of thriving industries outside Jharkhand. Many types of earth for making porcelain and colours, soap stones for talcum powder, Harra and Bhelua fruits from which inks can be extracted, all belong here. Jamun from which medical preparation for diabetes and coco-cola type drinks could be made, is available in plenty. Bamboo shoots preparations in pickles, masala and dried form could be made. Fishery development is another important area.

As far as agriculture is concerned, irrigation should be based on adaptation and modification of traditional methods taking into account the large number of streams and natural tanks etc and the economic condition of the farmer. Large scale costly lift irrigation schemes are not the solution; small pump sets and tiny hand operated tractors are the requirements for cultivation of forest lands. Village roads leading to the market places should be made, large storage facilities for agricultural and forest produce should be made and cooperative market societies should handle the sale and purchase of these commodities. The advances in the techniques of cultivation should be made available to the people.

Thus the most important step is to put a full stop to the destroyal of forests; tree cutting and wrong type of social forestry should be banned for twenty years. No large scale industrial unit should be allowed in this area and the new technologies for even small units should be available to the people before industries using them are allowed.

N. E. Horo

The above article is a free translation by *K. K. Surendran* of an article written in 1982 for the Hindi periodical **Mazdoor Kisan Neeti.**

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Articles for publication may be sent to the Nagpur address.



"LORD GANESH"

Lord Ganesh the Sidhhidata, worshipped first as per Hindu ritual, with Ashirbad (blessings) mudra

A modern form designed Hand Printed - Design Code No. SG 022

Jan 1996

Dear Dileep, family
and friends –

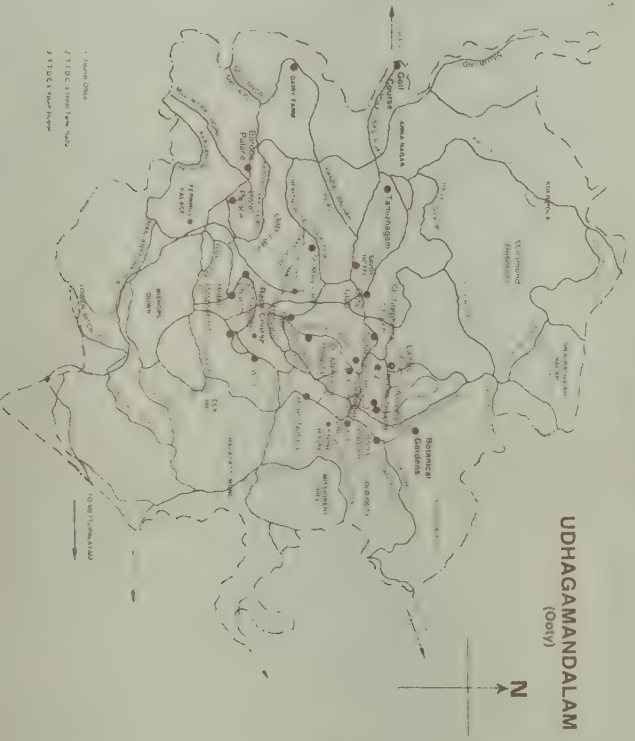
Wishing you all the
very best in 1996 –

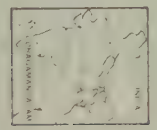
To keep in touch –

Regards,

Shirish

SHAKTI
B-10 SUN-N-SEA, 25 J. P. ROAD
ANDHERI (W), BOMBAY-400 061
Tel. 6292214







club holds annual Dog Shows at the YWCA, Anandgiri Grounds which is one of the attractions for the Summer Visitors. The shows are non profit oriented solely with a view of improving the Dog game in the country as also to improve breed standards. Office at Oakend (Near the Botanical Gardens) Tel. 2443.

Yoga

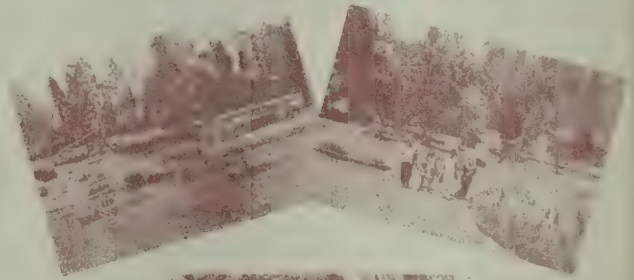
Available: Rajayoga Meditation Centre, 88, Victoria Hall, Elgin's Road, Ooty.

Tourist Information

Tourist Office, Govt of Tamil Nadu, Supermarket Complex, Charing Cross, Udhagamandalam – 1. Phone: 0423/3977

Hospital

Govt. Hospital: **Udhagamandalam** 2212, Govt. Lawley Hospital, Coonor: 21050
Govt. Hospital, Kothagiri: 309, Govt. Hospital Gudalur : 222.





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Nilgiris

Ooty

Queen of Hill stations



Tamil Nadu
India

the coimbatore plains.

There is a good view point from where stretches of forests and the plains below can be seen.

Law's Falls

It is situated in Coonoor forest range. It is about 7 Kms from Coonoor.

The height of the Falls is about 180 feet. There is a vast stretches of undisturbed sholas and It is a paradise for Naturalists.

St. Catherine Falls

St. Catherine Falls is located at a distance of 8 Kms from Coonoor. The Scenery around is beautiful

Sim's Park

This park-cum-botanical garden contains many species of trees not found in Ooty. The Annual fruit and vegetable show is held in May.

KOTHAGIRI

It is 1984 mts. (6503 ft) above the sea level and has a climatic advantage over Ooty as it is shielded by the Doddabetta ranges from the onslaught of the monsoons.

Kodanad View Point

It is about 20 Kms from Kothagiri on the eastern edges of Nilgiris. On either side of the road [illegible] Nadu & Karnataka State border can be distinctly seen.

Probable Travel circuits

Ooty – Coonoor (19kms) – Kotagiri (25kms) – Ooty (44kms) – Mudumalai (67kms) – Ooty (67kms) (2 days)

Travel Service

Conducted/Package Tours:

Itinerary	Timings	Fare	Reservation:
1. Ooty & Mudumalai Tour Ooty Lake, Doddabetta peak, Botanical Gardens, Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary,	Daily 08.00 to 20.00 hours	Rs. 75/-	Tamilnadu Tourism Development corporation, Hotel Tamilnadu, Udhagamandalam Phone: 4010 & 4011. The King Travel Service Udhagamandalam.
2. Ooty & Coonoor Botanical Gardens, Ooty lake Doddabetta Peak, Ketti Valley Lamb's Rock, Dolphin's Nose. Sim's park			The King Travel Service. Saravana Travels, etc.

Travel Agents

M.B. Travels, Charing Cross, Udhagamandalam.
Tel. 2604 (Air Travel Tickets only)
Tour Operators : Available
Guide Services : Available

Recreation

Clubs, Indoor Games, Horse Riding and Golf.: Available

Sports Activities The District Sports Officer, Udagamandalam.

Golf

Golf Course Club's 18 hole golf course is located at a height of 7400 ft. with a par of 70 over 6207 yards. The Golf links are laid out over an area of 193 acres of the Ooty WENLOCK DOWNS.

Water Sports

Every year during Summer Festival (May) Boat Races are conducted at Ooty lake.

SHOPPING

Handicrafts

Poompuhar Handicrafts (Govt. of Tamilnadu)
Kairali Handicrafts (Govt. of Kerala)
Photo Goods : Available

Places of worship

Temple : Murugan Temple, Elk Hill, Venkateshwara Perumal Temple, Sri Mariamman Temple, Subramania Temple, Vittoba Temple, Muniswarar Temple etc.

Church : St. Stephen's Church, Union Church, Holy Trinity Church, Sacred Heart Church, St. Mary's Church, St. Therasa's Church and Kandal shrine.

Mosque : Mosque available.

Fairs & Festivals

1. Thaipoosam in Elk Hill Murugan Temple (February)
2. Bokkapuram Mariamman Annual Festival (February)
3. Ooty Mariamman Temple Festival (April)
4. Coonoor Mariamman Temple Car Festival (April-May)
5. Boat Races and Boat Pageantry in Ooty (May)
6. Summer Festival in Ooty (May)
7. Flower Show in Ooty (May)
8. Fruit Show in Coonoor (May)

Bank / Money Changers

Leading Nationalised Banks have Branches. Exchange facilities are available with all banks transacting foreign exchange and Hotel Tamil Nadu.

Communications: Post/Telegraph/STD/ISD/Telex/Fax etc. courier service : Available

Medical Facilities

Hospitals/Chemists : Available

OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION

Trek routes: A number of Trek routes are identified. For participation, the Tourist Officer, Udhagamandalam (Ph: 3477) may be contacted.

Angling

Good trout, Carp and mixed water fishing is possible in various streams and lakes in the Nilgiris. Fishing licence for a fee is issued by the Assistant Director of Fisheries, Fish Dale, Udhagamandalam near bus stand.

Bird watching

The Following birds can be spotted in Nilgiris District. Barbet (small green) – Black Bird – Bulbul (black) Black red vented – Red Whiskered – Yellow – Browed – Chat (Indian Blue) – Piped Bush – Crow – Jungle House – Dove (Indian Spotted) – Drango (Black, Grey or Ashy) Fincit (Indian or common rose) – Flower Pecker (Tickell's coloured Nilgiri or plain) – Fly Catcher (Black & Orange) – Dusky blue Verditer (migratory/winter visitor). Grey headed – Nilgiri Verditer – Ticknelli Blue – White spotted fantail Heron (Indian pond) – Phopoe – Iora (Indian) – Kingfisher (small blue) – Lark (Nilgiri small sky) – Munia (spotted) Myna (jungle) – Nuthatch (chest nut [illegible] Velver (fronted) Owl (Brown fish) Pigeon (Blue rock) Pipit (Nilgiris) Robin (Magpie) Shrike (Brown) Paddy [illegible] Rufous Backed Sparrow House) Sunbird (Purple) Sunbird (Purple Humped) – Sunbird (Small) – Thrush (Blue headed rock) – Trush (Nilgiri) – Trush (Nilgiri laughing) – Orange headed ground – Tit (Indian Grey) – Wagtail (grey) Wagtail (Grey headed yellow) – Wagtail (large pied) – Warbler (brown leaf) – Warbler (Tickell's lead) – Warbler (Tyteler's) – Warbler (Nilgiri plain wrep) – Warbler (Ashy Wren) – Water hen (white breasted) – White Eye (Nilgiri).

Wildlife viewing

Wildlife Viewing is possible at Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary and Mukurthi National Park.

South of India Kennel Club

The South of India Kennel Club, Udhagamandalam was instituted in the year 1929 and membership is open to all Dog lovers throughout the country. Now, they have 125 members. The

Restaurant : Blue Hills, Chandan Vihar, Tamilnagam, Tandoor Mahal, Pankaj Bhojanalaya, Ooty Coffee House, Raghuram, Chinkos Chinese Restaurant, Hills Palace and all hotels have restaurant facilities

UDHAGAMANDALAM (OOTY)

Botanical Gardens

This garden was laid out in 1847 by the Marquis of Tweedale. A variety of exotic and ornamental plants adorn this garden which is the venue for the Flower Show held in May every year. There is a fossil tree trunk 20 million years old in the midst of the gardens.

Lake

This artificial lake was constructed in 1824 by Mr. John Sullivan, the then Collecctor of Coimbatore. Boating is possible from 08.00 hrs to 18.00 hrs. on all days. The lake garden and toy train rides are other attractions of the place.

Government Museum

The Government Museum on Mysore Road, was set up in 1989, with a view to provide educational benefits of the Museum to the residing and visiting population of Nilgiris District. The Museum has items of Tribal objects, district's ecological details and representative sculptural arts and crafts of Tamilnadu.

Admission Free

Timings: 10.00 Hrs. to 13.00 Hrs and 14 Hrs to 17.00 Hrs.

Holiday : Friday, Second Saturday and National Holidays.

EXCURSION

The Mukurthi Peak & Mukurthi National Park

Mukurthi Peak is about 40 km from Ooty. The Mukurthi National Park is located on the South Eastern corner of the Nilgiris Plateau.

The area contains a viable population of Nilgiri Thar (Hamitragus hilocrius). The Kolaribetta and the Nilgiris Peak are other major peaks around. The area is chained by innumberable beautiful and perennial little streams, which fall into Bhavani Puzha. The Silent Valley in the Western Ghat is located on the Western side of these ranges. A fascinating feature of the Mukurthi Sanctuary is its endemism and relationship with Himalayan Flora and Fauna.

Ketty Valley View

Located on the road to Coonoor, this idyllic spot is a cluster of tiny villages that extend to the plains of Coimbatore and Mysore plateau.

Pykara

It is situated about 21 Kms from Ooty on the Ooty – Mysore Road. The tourist attractions are well protected fenced Sholas, Toda settlements, undisturbed grassy meadows and also a good wildlife habitat. The Pykara Dam and the reservoir attracts many tourists. There is a forest Rest House at Pykara

Glenmorgan

It is about 17 Kms from Ooty and an ecologically rich forestry spot.

There is an Electricity Board (E.B.) winch which carries staff from Glenmorgan view point to power house at Singara. All the four Kms of the winch track passes through undisturbed sholas and wildlife habitat. Prior permission of E.B. authorities should be obtained to enter the view point zone. There are about ten Toda (tribal) settlements. On the way to Glenmorgan one can see Eucalyptus, Wattle Plantations and Sholas rich in Rhododendrons.

Upper Bhavani

It is about 10 Kms from Korakundah and about 20 Kms from Avalanchi.

This is a Naturalists' Paradise. Some of the best sholas like the Thar Shola lies enroute. The area is a rich and undisturbed wildlife habitat. From Bangithappal via Sispara one can trek to Silent Valley

Avalanchi

Located at a distance of 28 Kms from Ooty, this is a beautiful lake surrounded by very good forest cover. There is thick shola where even sunlight cannot penetrate and abundant with a wide variety of avifauna. It is a Nature Lovers' Paradise. The Road leading to lakkidi and Upper Bhavani from Avalanchi is an ideal wildlife habitat and has vast stretches of undisturbed sholas.

Western Catchment

It is about 20 Kms from Parson's Valley. It consists of Rolling Grassy downs interspersed with temperate sholas occupying depression and valleys. The landscape is extremely picturesque and should be zealously protected and preserved to maintain primevial beauty and grandeur of the tract.

Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary

Lying in the Nilgiris District abutting Kerala & Karnataka States. This is situated at an elevation of 1000 metres and extends over an area of 321 sq. kms.

A variety of habitats, ranging from tropical ever green forest, moist deciduous forest, moist teak forest, dry teak forest, secondary grass lands and swamps are found. The Wildlife includes Elephant, Gaur, Tiger, panther, sambar, spotted Deer, Barking Deer, Mouse, wild boar, porcupine etc. The avifauna is varied with minivets, Hornbills, fairy Blue Birds, Jungle Fowls etc. The Reptilions are represented by Python, Monitor Lizard, Flying Lizard etc.

It is approachable from Udhagamandalam by road via two different routes.

Via Kalhatty 36 Kms from Ooty and

The other route is via Gudalur which is 67 kms from Ooty. It can also be approached from Mysore which is at a distance of 91 kms.

The other picturesque scenic spots in the sanctuary include the Moyar Waterfalls, the Chief Minister's watch tower, ombetta swamp, Theppakad elephant camp etc.

Elephant ride and vehicle ride along visitor routes on payment. One can also stay at T.T.D.C.'S Youth Hostel Syiven Lodge, Log House at Theppakad Abhayaranyam at Kargudi and the dormitries while at Mudumalai Wildlife Sanctuary.

Doddabetta

It is the highest peak (2623 metres) in the Nilgiris and is about 10 Kms from Ooty.

It lies at the junction of Western & Eastern Ghats and offer beautiful vistas of the Nilgiri Hill ranges. It is surrounded by dense sholas. There is a telescope house which is an added attraction.

Kalhatty Falls

It is located on the Kalhatty slopes at about 13 Kms from Ooty, on the Ooty-Mysore Kalhatty ghat road.

The height of the waterfalls is about 150 ft. Kalhatty Mysore ghat slopes are rich in wildlife such as panthers, Bisons, wild Buffalos, wild Dogs, spotted Deers, Sambars and different types of hill birds.

Wenlock Downs

A vast expanse of undulating landscape offering the Gymkana Club, the Government Sheep Farm and the Hindustan Photo Films Company besides pleasures of a long stroll on quiet roads.

Elk Hills

It is an hour's walk from Udhagamandalam. A wide and uninterrupted view of Udhagamandalam and the Lovedale Valley can be had from here.

Snowden Peak

Situated on the Kothagiri Road, it offers a picturesque view of Mysore.

COONOOR

It is located on the way from Coimbatore to Ooty. Only 19 Kms from Ooty, it is the second largest hill station in the Nilgiris. It stands on a lower ridge of the plateau at an altitude of 1858 mts. (6100 ft) Coonoor is a railway station on the Mettupalaym – Udhagamandalam route. There are regular bus services from Ooty and Coimbatore to Coonoor.

Dolphin's Nose

It is about 12 Kms from Coonoor bus stand situated near Tiger Hills.

Enjoy the micro climate of the shola forest criss-crossed by the winding road; you can also take a glimpse of the Catherine Falls from here. The area is also abundant with wildlife.

CTC buses are plying upto Aderly Estate and a short walk down takes one to the view point.

Lamb's Rock

It is about 8 Kms from Coonoor Bus Stand and it falls under Reserve Forest.

The Lamb's Rock is a sheer precipice of several hundred metres and commands a good view of

इचलकरंजी

सूत दरात घट

उच्चांक गाठलेले सूत दर या सप्ताहात खाली येताना दिसले. ६ ते १० काऊंट व १०० ते १२० काऊंटच्या सुताच्या दरात २ ते ६ रुपयांनी घट झाली. सूत दर काहीसे उतरले असले, तरी कापडाच्या दरात त्यामानाने वाढ झालेली नाही. कापड व्यापारी अद्याप व्यापारात 'पडतर' असल्याचे सांगतात.

काही महत्त्वाच्या काऊंटच्या ५ किलोचे दर असे: ६ कार्डेड वार्प: आयको ३००, दत्त शेतकरी २९०, १० कार्डेड वार्प: आयको ३१०, दत्त शेतकरी ३०५.२० कार्डेड वार्प: स्नेहवली ३१६ गोल्डनस्पिन ३९०.३० कार्डेड वार्प: डेक्कन ४३० रामा ४३५.३४ कार्डेड वार्प: मराठे ४२८, नंद्याळ ४३०.३४ कार्डेड वेप्ट: भारत ४०९,यमगनूर ४१० ३८ कार्डेड वार्प: जी.टी.व्ही.-४५३,रामा-४५० ४० कार्डेड वेप्ट: आदोनी-४६५, प्रभा-४३९. ४० कार्डेड वार्प: अय्यर-४६०, मारीस-४९०. ४० कोम्बड वार्प: मराठे-५२०, सबरी-५०९. ४२ कार्डेड वार्प: गोल्डन-४९०, जय हिंद-५०२. ५० कार्डेड वार्प: लक्ष्मीनाथन-५४५, सीतालक्ष्मी-५५०. ६० कार्डेड वेप्ट: भारत-४९०, इंदिरा-५१५. ६० कार्डेड वार्प: अंडासन-६२०, ७२ कोम्बड वार्प: अशोका-८१५, दत्तात्रय-७९०. ८० कार्डेड वेप्ट: गणेश-६६६, श्रीहरी-६२६. ८४ कोम्बड वार्प: आनंदकुमार-७९०, सुदर्शनम-८५५. १०० कोम्बड वेप्ट: सी.पी.एम.-९१०, आयको-८८०. १२० कोम्बड वेप्ट: भोजराज-११२५, सी.पी.एम.-१०८५.

गडहिंग्लज

गूळ आवक टिकून

(जयसिंग पाटील यांजकडून)

चालू सप्ताहामध्ये गूळ रवे आवक-८,८२८ विक्री- ९,४५३ होऊन शिल्लक गूळ रवे -१६,५०८ आहेत. चालू हंगामात एकूण गूळ रवे आवक-३,०३,५२८ झाली आहेत. गूळ दर असा : नं १- ९८० ते १,१७०, नं २-८५० ते ९७५ नं ३-७५० ते ८४५.

शेंग : चालू सप्ताहात शेंग पोती आवक व विक्री २०५ पोती होऊन ५८ शिल्लक आहेत. चालू हंगामात एकूण २४,६१७ शेंग पोती आवक झाली आहे. सप्ताहामध्ये शेंग दर ११०० ते १,२४० पर्यंत झाले आहेत.

झाली आहे. चालू हंगामी एकूण मिरची बोद २५४ पोती ५०,७४८ पोती आवक व विक्री झाली आहेत. चालू सप्ताहातील मिरची दर नं १- २,८२५ ते ३,७०० नं-२ १६०० ते २,८०० नं ३-७.०० ते १,५७५.

जनावरे : या सप्ताहामध्ये बैल, म्हैस, रेडे, गाय यांची एकूण आवक ७५८ झाली. पैकी बैल विक्री १११ दर-रु. १००० ते ४०००, म्हैस विक्री- ५० दर रुपये- ५०० ते ५,५०० रेडे विक्री-५३ दर २०० ते १५००, गाय विक्री २ दर रुपये ५०० ते ६,००० पर्यंत झाले. तसेच शेळ्या-मेंढ्या आवक २४२, विक्री ७४ होऊन दर-२०० ते ९०० पर्यंत झाले आहेत.

पेठवडगाव

सोयाबीन, मका दर तेजीत

(एन. के. शिंदे यांजकडून)

वडगाव शेती उत्पन्न बाजार समिती वडगावमध्ये लग्नसराईमुळे चांगल्या प्रतीचा गूळ व तांदूळ या मालास ग्राहकांची मागणी भरपूर होती. त्यामुळे दर तेजीत आहेत. सोयाबीन व मका मालास बाहेरील खरेदीदारांची मागणी असल्याने दर तेजीतच आहेत. हायब्रीड, ज्वारी, शाळू, भात, खपली गव्हास ग्राहक चांगले होते. शेंगेचे दर कमी झालेले आहेत.

दर असे : शेंग- १२२५ ते १२७६, हायब्रीड ज्वारी- २४० ते ३७०, शाळू ४४० ते ५००, गहू ४९० ते ५१०, मका ३६० ते ३७०, हरभरा १०५० ते १०६०, सोयाबीन ८५० ते ८९०, तांदूळ ७२५ ते ७५०, गूळ ११७० ते १२०० रु.

जनावरे : कडक उन्हामुळे म्हशीची आवक कमी आलेली असून ग्राहकांची मागणी बरी होती. शेतातील कष्ट मशागतीची कामे सुरू होणार असल्याने बैल व रेडे या जनावरास मागणी चांगली होती. मुंबई, देवनार, कुर्ला व इचलकरंजी येथील व्यापाऱ्यांची लहान बैल, म्हैस, रेडे या जनावरास मागणी बरी होती. बकरी ईद या सणामुळे मोठ्या बोकडांची आवक चांगली होती. मागणी जादा असल्याने विक्री भरपूर होऊन बाजारभाव तेजीतच आहेत. शेळ्या-मेंढ्यांची विक्री बरी झालेली आहे.

आवक, विक्री व दर असे : गाय आवक- ५७, विक्री- १७, दर- ५०० ते ८१००, बैल आवक- ५४१, विक्री-७७, दर- २७५ ते ४५००, म्हैस आवक- २६६, विक्री- ६४, दर- ५०० ते ५५००, रेडे आवक-१२९, विक्री-७७, दर- ३२० ते १०००, शेळ्या आवक- ३२५, विक्री- १९७, दर १५०

मलकापूर

भाज्यांची आवक स्थिर

(के. डी. कदम यांजकडून)

कोल्हापूर शेती उत्पन्न बाजार समितीच्या मलकापूर दुय्यम बाजार आवारात या आठवडाभर भाजी आवक स्थिर असून त्यांच्या दरात मात्र सुधारणा झाली आहे.

जनावरांच्या बाजारात बैलांच्या आवकेत वाढ झाली आहे. तेथे नव्वद हजार रुपयांची उलाढाल झाली.

भाज्यांचे दहा किलोचे दर रुपयांत असे : कांदा- आवक व विक्री- १३८ पोती, दर- ५ ते १८. टोमॅटो- ९४ डाग, दर १४ ते १६०, ओली मिरची-५९ पोती, दर- १५ ते ५०, गवार- १८ डाग, दर- ३० ते ४२, भेंडी- २६ डाग, दर- ११ ते ५२, वांगी- ७० डाग, दर-१७ ते ४२, दोडका- ७ डाग, दर- २६ ते २८.

जनावरे बाजार : बैल- आवक-११२, विक्री- २७, दर- ९०० ते ३५००, म्हैस- आवक- १५, विक्री- ५, दर- ८०० ते १०००, रेडे- आवक-१९, विक्री- ३, दर- १०.०० ते १५०० रुपये.

आठवड्याची बाजारपेठ

जयसिंगपूर

शेतीमालाचे दर तेजीत

(धनपाल कोगनोळे यांजकडून)

जयसिंगपूर कृषि उत्पन्न बाजार समितीच्या बाजारपेठेत सर्वच शेतीमालाच्या दरांत या आठवडाभर तेजी झाली आहे. शेतीमालाची आवक, विक्री व दर असे: शेंग- आवक ६१ पोती, विक्री २३५ पोती, दर १०५० ते १३४०. हरभरा - आवक ३१५ पोती, विक्री ४४८ पोती, दर १००० ते ११४० रुपये भात - आवक २० पोती, विक्री ३६ पोती, दर ३२५ ते ४८० रुपये. ज्वारी - आवक ८६ पोती, दर-हायब्रीड २५० ते ३९० रुपये व शाळू ४०५ ते ४९० रुपये. गहू - आवक ३६६ पोती, विक्री ४०६ पोती, दर-बन्सी ४०० ते ४९० रुपये व खपली ५०० ते ६७५ रुपये. सोयाबीन-आवक २०५२ पोती, विक्री ३८३९ पोती, दर ६५० ते १००० रुपये. मका-आवक ४५ पोती, विक्री ८५ पोती, दर ३६० ते ३७५ रुपये.

मिरज

बैलांना जादा मागणी

(धनंजय पाठक यांजकडून)

सांगली कृषि उत्पन्न बाजार

सप्टेंबर १९९४ च्या वायद्यात गेल्या आठवड्याच्या तुलनेने तीस ते चाळीस रुपयांची घट आली होती. हळदीच्या हजर बाजारातही दर प्रतिक्विंटल १००० ते १४५० रुपये असे होते.

हळद वायद्यातील क्रमाक्रमाने होणारी घट जून-जुलै महिन्यातील हळदीतील मंदी दर्शविते, असे काही व्यापाऱ्यांचे म्हणणे आहे. शिवाय हजर बाजार आणि वायदा यातील दरातील तफावतही आता कमी होऊ लागली आहे, असे या व्यापाऱ्यांचे म्हणणे आहे.

शेंगेची दररोजची आवक दीडशे पोत्यांची होती, दर ११०० ते १३०० रुपये होते. गुळाची रोजची आवक सहा हजार रव्यांची होती. दर ६५० ते १२०० रुपये होते. सोयाबिनची आवक एक हजार पोत्यांची होती. व्यापार फारसा झाला नाही. या आठवडयात सांगली बाजारपेठेत बेदाण्याची तीन हजार पोत्यांची आवक झाली. पिवळ्या बेदाण्याचा दर ५५ ते ६८ रुपये ५० पैसे होता.

तासगाव

बेदाण्याची विक्रमी आवक

(दत्तात्रय पिसाळ यांजकडून)

या आठवडयात तासगाव बाजारपेठेत बेदाण्याची विक्रमी आवक झाली. मात्र बेदाण्याच्या दरात घसरण झाली आहे. गत आठवडयात हिरव्या बेदाण्यास प्रतिकिलोस १०५ रुपये असा विक्रमी दर मिळाला. या आठवडयात तो ९५ रुपयांपर्यंत खाली घसरला. चिंचेची आवकही या आठवडयात कमी झाली. मात्र चिंचेचे दर टिकून आहेत.

या आठवडयात बेदाण्याचे एकूण २५६४८ बॉक्स एवढी आवक झाली. त्यांपैकी १७९३७ बॉक्स विक्री झाली. बेदाण्यास मिळालेला दर प्रतिकिलो रुपयांमध्ये असा : हिरवा बेदाणा-९५.५० ते ७०, पिवळा बेदाणा-६८.५० ते ६०, काळा बेदाणा-४१.५० ते १६.

चालू आठवडयात चिंचेच्या ६५० पोत्यांची विक्री झाली. चिंचेला प्रतिक्विंटलला १२९५ ते ११६० रुपये असा दर मिळाला.

कऱ्हाड

धान्य, डाळी टिकून

(मुकुंद भट यांजकडून)

कऱ्हाड बाजारपेठेत चालू आठवडयात साखर, शेंगतेल भाव किंचित कमी झाले. धान्य व कडधान्यांचे व डाळींचे भाव टिकून आहेत. आठवडाभरात आयात साखर येणार असल्याच्या केंद्र सरकारच्या

डंकेल करार व भारतीय घटना

१५ एप्रिल १९९४ रोजी मोरोक्को या देशाच्या माराकेश या ठिकाणी (बहुतेक थंड हवेचे ठिकाण असणार) गॅट सदस्य असणाऱ्या सदस्य राष्ट्रांच्या वाणिज्य मंत्र्यांची बैठक झाली. ज्या डंकेल करारावर सदस्य राष्ट्रांच्या वाणिज्य सचिवांनी जीनिव्हा येथे सहया केल्या, त्याच करारावर आता मंत्री पातळीवर सहया झाल्या आहेत. आता 'स्पर्धात्मक जागतिकीकरणास पर्यायच नाही. त्यामुळे डंकेल करारावर कोणत्याही प्रकारच्या टीकात्मक विश्लेषणाची गरजच नाही, असे आता वातावरण तयार झालें आहे. डंकेल प्रस्तावाचे समर्थन ज्या प्रामाणिकपणाने राष्ट्रीय प्रसार माध्यमे करीत आहेत ते पाहता आंतरराष्ट्रीय/बहुराष्ट्रीय प्रसार संस्था आत्ताच या देशात कार्यरत झाल्या आहेत की काय असा प्रश्न निर्माण होतो.

नॅशनल वर्किंग ग्रुप ऑन पेटंट लॉज व इंडिपेंडंट इनिशिएटिव्ह या नव्या दिल्लीच्या दोन स्वयंसेवी संस्थांनी प्रकाशित केलेली 'Preliminary Report of The People's Commission on Dunkel Draft Text and Constitutional Aspects 12 Dec. 1993' ही टिप्पणी या लेखाचा आधार आहे.

माराकेश येथे गॅट करारावर भारतासह १२५ राष्ट्रांनी स्वाक्षऱ्या केल्या. या करारासंदर्भात सर्वोच्च न्यायालयाचे निवृत्त न्यायमूर्ती डी. ए. देसाई, न्या. व्ही. आर. कृष्णा अय्यर व न्या. चिन्नाप्पा रेड्डी व दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालयाचे न्यायमूर्ती राजिंदर साचार यांच्या संयुक्त लेखाच्या आधारे लिहिलेले टिप्पण.

ही टिप्पणी तयार करण्याचे काम भारताच्या सर्वोच्च न्यायालयाचे तीन निवृत्त न्यायाधीश व दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालयाचे मुख्य न्यायाधीश (न्यायमूर्ती डी. ए. देसाई, ओ. चिन्नाप्पा रेड्डी, व्ही. आर. कृष्णा अय्यर व राजिंदर साच्चार) यांच्यावर सोपविण्यात आले होते. या टिप्पणीतील सर्व विचार पूर्णतः या महत्त्वपूर्ण कागदपत्रावर आधारित आहेत.

या चार ख्यातनाम तज्ज्ञ, सामाजिक जबाबदारीची जाणीव असणाऱ्या सन्माननीय न्यायमूर्तींच्या समोर जबाबदार अर्थशास्त्रज्ञ, समाजशास्त्रज्ञ, शास्त्रज्ञ व कायदेपंडीत यांनी आपली भूमिका मांडली, हे येथे लक्षात घेणे आवश्यक आहे.

डंकेल कराराच्या भारताच्या सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजकीय, सांस्कृतिक एवढेच नव्हे, तर पर्यावरणात्मक जीवनावर दूरगामी, अधिकतर प्रतिकूल परिणाम होण्याची तात्काळ नसली, तरी कालांतराने शक्यता आहे. हे नाकारण्यात फारसा अर्थ व प्रामाणिपणा नाही. डंकेल कराराचा आर्थिक व तंत्रवैज्ञानिक क्षेत्रावर कसा बरा वाईट परिणाम होईल याची आता व्यापक चर्चा झाली आहे. परंतु डंकेल करारामुळे भारतीय घटनेशी विसंगत असे आर्थिक/सामाजिक धोरण स्वीकारले जाऊन भारतीय नागरिकांच्या काही प्राथमिक हक्कावर अतिक्रमण होण्याची शक्यता निर्माण होते. भारतीय घटना हा फक्त एक कायदेशीर कागदांचा गठ्ठा नाही, तर देशाचे आर्थिक, राजकीय, सामाजिक व इतर दृष्टीने व्यवस्थापन करणाऱ्या राजसत्तेची नियमन करणारी अंतिम सत्ता असेच घटनेचे वर्णन करावे लागेल. या पार्श्वभूमीवर डंकेल कराराची तपासणी करणे आवश्यक आहे.

डंकेल करारात विविध गोष्टींचा समावेश आहे. समाजजीवनाच्या प्रत्येक अंगास स्पर्श करणारी कोणती ना कोणती गोष्ट या करारात आहे. सरकारचे धोरण कार्यक्रम, एवढेच नव्हे तर सरकारचे म्हणजेच संसदेचे तसेच राज्यांच्या विधानसभांच्या अधिकारावर सावट टाकणाऱ्या तरतुदी डंकेल करारात आहेत.

भारत हा आजही प्रकर्षाने शेतीप्रधान देश आहे. उपभोग व रोजगाराच्या दृष्टीने बहुसंख्य भारतीयांचा आधार शेती आहे. ज्या धोरणामुळे किंवा करारामुळे शेतीवर प्रतिकूल परिणाम होतो त्या धोरणांचा व करारांचा सामान्य मीणसावर प्रतिकूल परिणाम होणार हे स्पष्टच आहे, तसेच आर्थिक नियोजनात आर्थिक विकास व बिगर कृषि रोजगाराच्या दृष्टीने औद्योगिक विकास हाही सामान्य माणसाच्या दृष्टीने महत्त्वाचा भाग ठरतो. अशा राष्ट्रीय मालकीच्या औद्योगिक विकासाला प्रतिकूल ठरणाऱ्या कोणत्याही धोरणाचा व कराराचा सामान्य माणसांच्या जीवनावर प्रतिकूल परिणामच होणार. भारतीय घटना 'समाजवादी, लोकशाही प्रजासत्ताक' अशी राष्ट्रव्यवस्था निर्माण करण्याची बांधिलकी आजही देते. त्याबाबतीत कोणतीही घटना दुरुस्ती झालेली नाही व करताही येणार नाही.

भारतीय घटनेच्या तरतुदी लक्षात घेता या देशाच्या सार्वभौमत्वाची बांधिलकी देशाच्या राष्ट्रीय विकासाशी, लोककल्याणाच्या कमालीकरणाशी जोडलेली असली पाहिजे. ज्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय करारामुळे भारत सरकारच्या नागरिकाप्रती असलेल्या मूलभूत जबाबदाऱ्या पूर्ण करण्याच्या अधिकारात व प्रक्रियेत अडथळे निर्माण होतात, बदल करावे लागतात, मर्यादा निर्माण होतात किंवा त्यावर नियंत्रणे येतात, असा कोणताही करार हा घटनाबाह्य म्हणूनच अस्वीकारणीय ठरतो. सार्वभौमत्वाचे सर्व अधिकार लोकांच्या हातातच राहिले पाहिजेत. सार्वत्रिक लोकमान्यतेशिवाय सार्वभौमत्वावर मर्यादा घालणारा कोणताही निर्णय, शासनप्रमुख किंवा कायदेमंडळाचा फक्त घटनाबाह्य न राहता तो चालू पिढीला व भविष्यकालीन पिढीला घातक ठरणारा आहे. म्हणून अशा बाबतीत उतावीळपणा शहाणपणाचा शत्रू ठरतो. ज्या शल्यक्रियेत फेररचनेची/दुरुस्तीची शक्यताच नसते त्या बाबतीत दहा वेळा विचार करूनच पहिले पाऊल टाकावे लागते.

या देशातील लोकांच्या पोषणासाठी, टिकून राहण्यासाठी अन्नधान्य व इतर वस्तूंच्या उत्पादनात भारताने संपूर्ण स्वावलंबी असणे आवश्यक आहे. हा फक्त आर्थिक किंवा राजकीय पर्याय नाही तर ते एक घटनात्मक बंधन (Compulsion) आहे. सर्वोच्च न्यायालयाने वेळोवेळी घटनेतील कलम २१ च्या संदर्भात दिलेल्या विवरणाप्रमाणे या देशातील सर्वांत शेवटच्या व सर्वांत दुर्बल अशा नागरिकालाही जगण्याचा, जीवनाचा मूलभूत हक्क दिलेला आहे. यामध्ये साहजिकच वाजवी किमतीला अन्नाची उपलब्धता, औषध-पाण्याची उपलब्धता, पिण्याच्या पाण्याची उपलब्धता यांसारख्या गोष्टींचा समावेश होतो. या सर्व संदर्भात डंकेल करारातील शेतमाल व्यापाऱ्याच्या अटी, बौद्धिक मालमत्ता संदर्भातील अटी, अंशदानाच्या संदर्भातील अटी निश्चितच समाधानकारक नाहीत. दीर्घकालात प्रतिकूल परिणाम करणाऱ्या आहेत. शेतीप्रधान ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्थेचा उध्वंस करणाऱ्या आहेत असे वाटते. आजपर्यंतच्या जमीनविषयक सुधारणा, एकात्मिक ग्रामीण विकास योजना, ग्रामीण रोजगार हमी योजना, सीमांत भूधारक, अल्प-भूधारक व भूमिहीन शेतमजूर यांच्यासाठी विचारपूर्वक तयार केलेल्या अनेक योजना क्रमशः कमी करण्याची पाळी सरकारवर येण्याची शक्यता आहे. अन्नधान्य, इतर जीवनावश्यक वस्तू व औषधासाठी सार्वजनिक वितरण व्यवस्था बळकट करण्याऐवजी त्यांच्याकडे कालांतराने दुर्लक्ष होण्याचीही शक्यता आहे. या सर्व गोष्टीसाठी समाजाच्या आर्थिक जीवनात राजकीय हस्तक्षेप आवश्यक ठरतो. परंतु डंकेल करारात अशा अनेक अटी आहेत, की ज्यामुळे असा सरकारी हस्तक्षेप कमी करावा लागेल. या सर्व गोष्टी लक्षात घेता, जीवनावश्यक अशा अन्नधान्य व औषधोपचार या क्षेत्रांच्या बाबतीत सरकारची हस्तक्षेप करण्याची क्षमता कमी होण्याची शक्यता आहे. अत्यावश्यक औषधांच्या किमती प्रमाणाच्या पलीकडे वाढल्यास, अन्नधान्य व्यापाराच्या बाबतीत बहुराष्ट्रीय व्यापारी कंपन्यांची मक्तेदारी तयार झाल्यास जगण्याच्या हक्कावर अतिक्रमण होण्याची शक्यता आहे. घटनेच्या कलमाला या परिस्थितीत फारसा अर्थ राहणार नाही. नागरिकांच्या जगण्याच्या हक्काचे संरक्षण करण्याची शासनाची जबाबदारी अशी आंतरराष्ट्रीय करारान्वये कायदेशीर भाषेत अडकवून ठेवणे श्रेयस्कर नाही.

डॉ. जे. एफ. पाटील
कोल्हापूर

भारतीय घटनेच्या १४ व्या कलमाप्रमाणे कायद्यासमोर सर्वांना समानत्व, सर्वांना कायद्याचे समान संरक्षण अशी तरतूद आहे. त्याचा एक अन्वयार्थ असा, की समानाला समान वागणूक पण असमानांना असमान वागणूक देणे घटनेप्रमाणे आवश्यक आहे. आमच्या देशातील बहुसंख्य उद्योग लघुउद्योग, अति लघुउद्योग, ग्रामीण उद्योग वगैरे अशा स्वरुपाचे आहेत. त्यांच्या उत्पादन प्रमाणाची तुलना बहुराष्ट्रीय संस्थांच्या उत्पादन प्रमाणाशी करताच येणार नाही. असे लघुउद्योग, मध्यम उद्योग व या देशातील काही तथाकथित मोठे उद्योगही अवाढव्य उत्पादन प्रमाण असणाऱ्या बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपन्यांशी अनियंत्रित, मुक्त बाजारपेठेत स्पर्धा करू शकणार नाहीत. डंकेल कराराच्या सर्व तरतुदींचे/अटींचे पालन केल्यानंतर तीन-चार वर्षांनी अशी अवस्था निर्माण होणार यात शंकाच नाही. अशा परिस्थितीत घटनेच्या कलम १४ प्रमाणे सरकारला हस्तक्षेप करता येणे शक्य होईल, असे वाटत नाही. आमच्या देशातील उद्योगांना पर्यायी प्रक्रियांचा वापर करून कमी किमतीला तत्सम उत्पादन करण्याचा सध्याचा हक्कही अडचणीत येणार, कारण परदेशात पेटंट झालेल्या वस्तूची आयात करण्यातदेखील पेटंट अमलात आणले जाते, अशी भूमिका बौद्धिक मालमत्ता हक्कांच्या बाबतीत डंकेल कराराने घेतली आहे.

याचबरोबर येथे हेही लक्षात घेणे आवश्यक आहे, की या देशात बेरोजगारीचा प्रश्न प्रचंड मोठा आहे. तो आणखी मोठा होईल, त्याची क्लिष्टता आणखी वाढेल, असे कोणतेही धोरण स्वीकारणे योग्य होणार नाही. प्रचंड मोठ्या, अत्याधुनिक तंत्राचा (यंत्रप्रधान, श्रम बेकार करणाऱ्या) वापरे करणाऱ्या बहुराष्ट्रीय संस्थांच्या या

(पान ४ वर)

What does Tuka say?

The 'Shudra' saint-poet's abhangs are sung with love in South India and increasingly, north of the Narmada, too. But by Sainik logic, we can't have him, right?

[CREED]

EXACTLY FIVE weeks from today on March 23 this year, if the calendar consulted is right, it will be the 358th 'Tukaram Beej'. The first Tukaram Beej was the second day of the lunar fortnight of the waning moon, (*dvitiya, Krishna paksha*, in the month of Chaitra in the Hindu calendar) in 1650 CE. On the forenoon of this day, the "greatest Marathi poet ever" as contemporary poet Dilip Chitre calls him (born in 1608 in Dehu village, about 29 km from Pune), "performed his last kirtan and simply vanished."

A direct descendant of Tukaram, Dr. Sadanad More, won the 1999 Sahitya Akademi Award for Marathi writing. His book *Tukaram Darshan* is described as "a comprehensive historical review of how Maharashtra has received Tukaram so far. It uses Tukaram as a mirror of Marathi culture and society." Says Chitre, "Tukaram transcended communalism to include even Muslims among Vaishnavas and Sants and he wrote poetry in Dakhani Urdu in which Allah replaces his beloved deity, Pandurang. Half of the famous fourteen accompanists of Tukaram in his legendary *kirtan* performances were themselves Brahmin. Tukaram's most famous disciple was the poetess Bahinabai; and she, too, was a Brahmin."

That, then, is the backbone of Marathi religion and culture, who knit his divided world syncretically into a strong emotional whole. Nor did he perform this moral miracle in easy times. As a 'Shudra', he had to outface Brahmin opposition. The tale goes that he had to throw the manuscripts of his verses (which means he had an education) into the local river, Indrayani.

This is the famous river in the song about Tukaram's saintly predecessor, Jnandev, in the song '*Indrayani kathi...laagli samadhi*' made nationally popular by Pandit Bhimsen Joshi since three decades. But the river is supposed to have miraculously restored Tukaram's work unharmed to him, as was the case with several saints and their precious objects, including Chaitanya Mahaprabu in Bengal and Tyagaraja in Tamil Nadu.



WHAT A PERSON! Sant Tukaram, depicted above in modern popular art, knit an emotional whole in the 17th century out of a fragmented society, bonding 'upper' and 'lower' castes, Hindus and Muslims.

Politically, those were highly unstable times in the Deccan and the *ryot* (small farmers or 'sons of the soil') were at the mercy of every local strongman and his forces. Around 1629 there was a terrible famine, followed inevitably by fatal epidemics. Tukaram's first wife, Rukmabai, already frail with disease, died of starvation.

any cure at hand. Shivaji was born a year after this famine that decimated thousands of Maharashtrians. At this juncture, it is hard not to think of the thousands of farmers in Vidarbha killing themselves in Shin-

ing India. And to wonder why the Sainiks do not address their energies to worthier causes instead of cruelly troubling people in love or attacking their fellow-Indians despite being Tuka's legatees. In the event,

Bapu, it seems, was so moved by Tukaram's verses, that he apparently translated some of his abhangs into Hindi, while films on the saint-poet won awards abroad and attracted the best Carnatic classical singing talent of the time

"Relative peace and stability re turned to Maharashtra only about a century after Tukaram," write Chitre, who translated Tukaram' poetry from Marathi to English.

If history repeats itself in th bad things, there is no reason wh the healing energies should not b recalled and activated either. Tuk was one such force for the good i times as ugly and desperate as t day for many in India.

It is not surprising th Tukaram's verses went beyond th confines of language to emotiona ly receptive Karnataka and Tam Nadu where several singers sp cialise in the Marathi *bhajan* for (*abhang*). In fact, Tukaram's ver es were propagated as early as 3 years ago in TN by one Swar Maradanallur, a saintly figure the time.

Today's South Indians translat the songs aloud into Kannada Tamil or English for the local aud ence before they sing. They are in vited frequently to perform a South Indian temples, cultura events, conferences and conver tions in Karnataka, TN and the US Two such prominent singers ar Chennai-based Carnatic vocalis Aruna Sairam (no stranger to Delh and Mumbai) and 'Thukaran Ganapathy' of Kadayanallur, TN who is a committed Varkari (th sect of believers devoted to Vishn as Pandurang or Vitthala at the M harashtrian town of Pandharpu to whom Tukaram addressed h verse).

"I was 13 when I first hea Tukaram's *Sundare te dhyana ub Vitevari* and that decided my f ture," the agriculturist, an econon ics graduate from Tirunelveli Hi du College was quoted as saying *The Hindu*. He apparently owns rice-mill and a *goshala* at his v lage, Kadayanallur, near the T Kerala border. Hailing from a trac tional *bhajan*-singing family, wh drew him to the Marathi *abha* was that saint-poets like Jnande Tukaram, Namdev and Janab "brought in a mass movement social and cultural equali through their verses."

Ganapathy is in good compa Bapu, it seems, was so moved Tukaram's *abhangs* that he tra lated several into Hindi wh locked up in Yervada Jail in 1930. 1937, *Sant Tukaram* by Vishnupa Govind Damle won the Special Recomme dation Award at the Venice Film Festi and in 1938, a Tamil film on Tukar starred the great Carnatic singer, Mus Subrahmanya Iyer. As Tuka said in verse '*Taruvar beejapoti*': All men to God, are like gods, I see no vice nor faul them. The face and its reflection may se different but they are one, for wher stream joins the ocean, it is no longer se rate." The idea of India.



Scenes during Gandhiji's famous march on foot to the sea coast at Dandi, on the eve of the Salt Satyagraha, 1930.

People who do not know Gandhiji personally and have only read his writings are apt to think that he is priestly type, extremely puritanical, long-faced, Calvinistic , and a kill joy, something like the " priest in black gowns walking their rounds." But his writings do him an injustice; he is far greater than what he writes, and it is not quite fair to quote what he has written and criticise it. He is the very opposite of the Calvinistic priestly type. His smile is delightful, his laughter infectious, and he radiates light-heartedness. There is some-thing childlike about him which is full of charm. When he enter a room he brings a breath of fresh air with him which lightens the atmosphere.

-Jawaharlal Nehru

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लोकसत्ता

पुणे: गुरुवार, २९ जानेवारी १९९८

जीवन संघर्षाचे स्मरांगण नाही, समन्वयाचे सरोवर आहे -वि स खांडेकर

'प्रेमपत्रा'तील व्यवहार!

सुरेश कलमाडी यांच्या अपक्ष उमेदवारीला शिवसेनेने पाठिंबा देण्याविषयी बराच दिवस चालू असलेला घोळ त्यांच्या एका पत्राने चटकन संपला. कलमाडी यांची शरद पवारांशी असलेली जवळीक आणि कलमाडी यांची अलीकडची काही वक्तव्ये यामुळे त्यांच्याविषयी शिवसेनाप्रमुखांना संशय होता. त्यात शिवसेनेशी युती असूनही भाजपाने शिवसेनाप्रमुखांशी चर्चा न करता कलमाडी यांच्या उमेदवारीला परस्पर पाठिंबा जाहीर केल्याने बाळासाहेब ठाकरे हे दुखावले होते. मुंडे-महाजन यांनी मनधरणी केल्याने शिवसेनाप्रमुखांचा राग नेहमीप्रमाणे मावळला. मधल्या काळात, कलमाडी यांनी शिवसेनेत प्रवेश करावा, असे प्रयत्न शिवसेनेच्या काही नेत्यांनी केले होतेच, असे म्हणतात. पण ते कलमाडी यांना मान्य नव्हते. मग कलमाडी यांनी भाजपाच्या तिकिटावर निवडणूक लढवावी, अशी मागणी शिवसेनेने जाहीरपणे केली होती. पण कलमाडी यांना आपले स्वतंत्र राजकीय अस्तित्व तूर्त तरी टिकवायचे असल्याने ही मागणीही त्यांनी फेटाळून लावली. शिवसेनाप्रमुख हे कलमाडी यांचे कर्तृत्व व राजकीय ताकद जाणून होते. त्याचबरोबर त्यांच्याविरुद्ध प्रसंगी शिवसेनेचे उमेदवार उभा करण्याचा बाळासाहेब ठाकरे यांचा इशारा हा प्रत्यक्षात आणण्यासाठी नव्हता तर कलमाडी यांना नमते घ्यायला लावण्यासाठी होता, याचे कारण पुणे लोकसभा मतदारसंघात शिवसेनेची कॉंग्रेस व भाजपाच्या तुलनेत ताकद किती आहे हे शिवसेनाप्रमुखांना नीट माहीत आहे. तरीसुद्धा कलमाडी हे आपल्याला भेटण्यासाठी व पाठिंबा मिळविण्याकरिता वरंवार प्रयत्न करीत आहेत हे दिसल्यावर शिवसेनाप्रमुखांनी काही मागण्यांसाठी नाणून घेणे हे समजण्यासारखे आहे. कलमाडी हे प्रबळ उमेदवार असले तरी सोबत असलेले कॉंग्रेसजन हे किती दिवस त्यांच्याबरोबर राहतील व ते नळमळीने कितपत काम करतील याविषयी त्यांना शंका असू शकते. हीच गोष्ट भाजपाच्या व मग परिवाराच्या कार्यकर्त्यांबाबत म्हणता येईल या अशा परिस्थितीत शक्यतो सर्व पक्षांचा जास्तीत जास्त उघड व छुपा पाठिंबा मिळवायचा तर त्यांना अपक्ष उमेदवारच गहाणवर ठेवे, तसेच या वेधवशाच्या पाठिंब्याच्या स्थितीत शिवसेनेचा फार उपयोग होऊ शकत नसला तरी लिट्मस्ची विरोध नको, या व्यवहारी व सावध भूमिकेतून शिवसेनेच्या पाठिंब्यासाठी कलमाडी यांनी थोडे पडते घेतल्याने दिसते आपली राजकीय पत वसूल करण्याच्या आलेल्या संधीचा ताकदीचा राजकारणाकडून त्यांचे पुण्यात योग्य वसूल करण्याचे राजकारण आहे. पुणे महापालिकेचे ५५ नगरसेवक आज कलमाडी यांच्याबरोबर आहेत तरी त्यांना पाठिंबा दिल्यास पुणे महापालिका निवडणुकीत शिवसेनेला फारसे काही मिळणार नाही, हे उघड आहे. मात्र असे होईलच, असे ठामपणे म्हणता येणार नाही. याचे कारण सोनिया गांधी यांची पुण्यात प्रचार सभा झाल्यावर किती कॉंग्रेस नगरसेवक कलमाडी यांच्याबरोबर राहतील हे नेसुद्धा छातीठोकपणे सांगू शकणार नाहीत. समजा बव्हंशी कॉंग्रेस नगरसेवक हे जरी कलमाडी यांना साथ देत राहिले तरी कलमाडी हे महापालिकेत युतीचा प्रभाव वाढण्यास साह्यभूत होऊन आपल्या राजकीय ताकदीचे खच्चीकरण कसे करून घेतील ? शिवसेनाप्रमुखांना कलमाडी यांच्या पुणे शहरातील प्रभावाचा पुढील विधानसभा निवडणुकीसाठीही वापर करून घ्यायचा दिसतो. तसा हा दूरचा म्हणजे दोन वर्षांनंतरचा विचार झाला. राजकारणात हा एवढा मोठा कालावधी आहे की त्यात काहीही घडू शकते. म्हणूनच शिवसेनाप्रमुखांनी 'परत कॉंग्रेस पक्षात जाणार नाही व कॉंग्रेसला पाठिंबा देणार नाही' अशा आशयाचे हमीवजा लेखीपत्र कलमाडी यांच्याकडून घेतले आहे. लेखी आश्वासन घेण्याच्या आपल्या पवित्र्यावर बहुधा खूश होऊन शिवसेनाप्रमुखांनी यास 'प्रेमपत्र' म्हटले आहे. पण प्रेमात, राजकारणात व निवडणुकीत सारे काही क्षम्य असते हे जाणून मागितले तसे पत्र कलमाडी यांनी दिले असावे. सध्याच्या राजकारणात कोणीही हरिश्चंद्राचा अवतार नाही. कोणीही शब्दाचा पक्का नाही. तरीही एक राजकीय नेता लेखी हमीपत्र मागतो व दुसरा राजकीय नेता ते सहज देऊन टाकतो, हा सध्याच्या निवडणुकीच्या काळातील एक राजकीय विनोद वाटतो. बाळासाहेब ठाकरे हे ज्याला 'प्रेमपत्र' म्हणतात त्यालाच कलमाडी हे व्यक्तिगत पत्र म्हणतात व हे 'ऑफिडेव्हिट' नाही, असे एका प्रसनाला उत्तर देताना सांगतात. यातच सारे काही आले. कलमाडी यांचा उपयोग युतीच्या उमेदवारांच्या प्रचारासाठी होईल, हा ठाकरे-मुंडे यांचा आशावाद कितपत खरा ठरतो हे लवकरच समजेल. बारामती मतदारसंघात पवारांविरुद्ध प्रचार करण्यासाठी आपण जाऊ शकतो, असे कलमाडी म्हणाले असले तरी ते खरोखर जातील काय याविषयी आज तरी कुतूहल वाटते. 'शिवसेनेचा' पाठिंबा मिळविण्यासाठी मानी कलमाडी यांना 'बेदूक', 'मर्मिडीजमधून भीक मागणारे' या शब्दांमध्ये शिवसेनाप्रमुखांनी केलेली अवहेलना सहन करावी लागली आहे. शिवसेनाप्रमुखांनी जाहीर पाठिंबा दिला म्हणून शिवसेनेचे कार्यकर्ते हे आपल्यासाठी पुंगूपार झटतील, या भ्रमात गहण्याएवढे कलमाडी हे नक्कीच भावडे नाहीत. तेव्हा 'प्रेमपत्रा'च्या मागे उभयपक्षी गाजलीय स्वार्थाची जो व्यवहार टडला आहे तोच खरा आहे. यामाही गाजलीय जुगाराची खेळी खेळण्यात आली आहे, तो अंगलट आला तर 'प्रेमपत्रा'ना जाहीर पंचनामा होईल, पण वर्तमानकाळ जगण्याचे

फाळणी व ५५ कोटी रुपयांविषयीची वस्तुस्थिती

गांधी हत्येमागची विचारसरणी

संपूर्ण भारतात ३० जानेवारी हा दिवस 'हुतात्मा दिन' म्हणून पाळला जातो. तथापि काही लोक १५ नोव्हेंबर रोजी हुतात्मा दिन पाळतात. महात्मा गांधी यांची हत्या केल्याबद्दल नथुराम गोडसे यास १५ नोव्हेंबरला फाशी देण्यात आले होते. म. गांधींना हुतात्मा मानणाऱ्या या देशात नथुरामला हुतात्मा मानणारेही आहेत. अजून नथुराम गोडसे याचे पुतळे उभारले गेले नाहीत परंतु आपल्या देशात आणि महाराष्ट्रात जे चालू आहे, ते लक्षात घेता तसे घडणारच नाही असे नाही. गांधीचे पुतळे पाडून नथुराम गोडसेचे पुतळे उभारावेत, अशी इच्छा जाहीरपणे श्री. बाळ ठाकरे यांनी व्यक्त केलेली आहे. अनेक वृत्तपत्रांत त्यांची ही इच्छा प्रसिद्ध झाली आहे. 'अखंड भारताची' फाळणी होण्यास म. गांधी जबाबदार होते म्हणून फाळणीस विरोध करणाऱ्यांनी आणि अखंड भारताच्या समर्थकांनी संतापून देशाचे तुकडे करणाऱ्याची हत्या करून 'देशकार्य' च केले आहे आणि असे देशकार्य करणाऱ्यास 'हुतात्मा' च म्हणतात, म्हणून गोडसे हुतात्मा आणि म्हणून १५ नोव्हेंबर हुतात्मा दिन असा समर्थनाचा एक मुद्दा आहे.

भारताची फाळणी का झाली, कुणामुळे झाली, फाळणीचे बीज कधी पेरले गेले, फाळणीस ब्रिटिश, कॉंग्रेस पक्ष, मुस्लिम लीग किती जबाबदार, कॉंग्रेस पक्षाच्या नेत्यांपैकी मुख्यत: कोण जबाबदार, या विषयावर आजवर विपुल लेखन झाले आहे. कागदपत्रांची छाननी झाली आहे. स्वातंत्र्य संग्रामात सहभागी असलेल्या स्वातंत्र्य योद्ध्यांनी सर्व काही घडत असताना त्यात सहभागी होते. त्यांनी आणि या वेळच्या व नंतरच्या अभ्यासकांनी खूप लिहून ठेवले आहे. या सर्वांपैकी ज्यांच्या मताची गंभीरपणे दखल घ्यावी, अशा एकाही व्यक्तीने फाळणीस म. गांधीना जबाबदार धरलेले नाही. फाळणीच्या योजनेची चर्चा व मंजुरी इत्यादी चालू होते, त्या काळातील तारीख वार आणि तपशीलवार नोंदी उपलब्ध आहेत. मौलाना अबुल कलम आझाद यांनी 'इंडिया विन्स फ्रीडम' या ग्रंथात बरोच तपशील देऊन त्याआधारे म्हटले आहे की, 'लॉर्ड माउंटबॅटन यांच्या कल्पनेचा (फाळणीचा) स्वीकार करण्यास सर्वात प्रथम सरदार पटेल पुढे सरसावले' 'जेव्हा लॉर्ड माउंटबॅटन यांनी फाळणीचा मार्ग सुचविला तेव्हा सरदार पटेलांकडून त्यांना ताबडतोब मान्यता मिळाली' (पृष्ठ १८३). सरदार पटेलांची खात्री पटल्यानंतर लॉर्ड माउंटबॅटन जवाहरलाल यांच्याकडे वळले. प्रथमत: जवाहरलाल फाळणीच्या कल्पनेस बिलकुल अनुकूल नव्हते व त्या तत्त्वास त्यांनी जोराचा विरोध केलाही..... 'फाळणीचे कट्टर विरोधी असलेले जवाहरलाल फाळणीचे पुरस्कर्ते ठरो नाही, तरी त्यास मान्यता द्यावयास तयार झाले.....' मौलाना आझादांनी सरदार पटेलांचे शब्द दिले आहेत. 'आम्हाला आवडो अगर न आवडो हिंदुस्थानात आज दोन राष्ट्रे अस्तित्वात आहेतच.' (पृष्ठ १८३) फाळणीस मौ. आझादांचा तीव्र विरोध होता. त्यांनी गांधीनां आग्रह धरून फाळणीची योजना मोडावी म्हणून त्यांना सांगितले तेव्हा म. गांधी म्हणाले, ... 'हा काय प्रश्न विचारता ? कॉंग्रेसला फाळणी स्वीकारायची असेल तर माझा मृतदेह ओलांडूनच ते करता येईल' (पृष्ठ १८७) तथापि, शेवटी गांधीही हतबल झाले. कॉंग्रेस कार्यकारिणीत मतदान झाले. जयप्रकाश नारायण आणि त्यांच्या काही सहकाऱ्यांनी विरोधी मतदान केले, परंतु फार मोठ्या बहुमतांने फाळणीच्या प्रस्तावाला मतदान मिळाले सर्वसेवा संघाचे प्रसिद्ध नेते ठाकूरदास बंग यांनी 'महात्मा गांधी-प्रांतिय और तथ्य' या नावाची एक छोटीसी पुस्तिका प्रसिद्ध केली आहे. फाळणीसंबंधी म गांधीचे अनेक उद्गार दिल्यानंतर पृष्ठ क्रमांक १३ वर नोंद केली आहे की, 'श्री अटलबिहारी वाजपेयींने एकबार श्री. जयप्रकाश नारायणसे कहा की, भारत विभाजनको लेकर गांधीजी बारे मे हमारा आकलन सही नही था। यह हमे १९६० के बाद पता चला है। इसलिए राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघने अपने प्रात: स्मरणमे गांधीजीका नाम शामील किया है....'

भारताच्या फाळणीस म. गांधी जबाबदार नव्हेत, इतरच लोक जबाबदार होते परिस्थिती जबाबदार होती. परिस्थिती संबंधीचे वेगवेगळे आकलन असू शकते. यासाठी म. गांधींच्या हत्येचे समर्थन होऊ शकत नाही. फाळणीला जबाबदार असणाऱ्या वल्लभभाई पटेल किंवा पं. नेहरू इत्यादी नेत्यांची हत्या किंवा तसे प्रयत्न झाले नाहीत. यावरूनही हे समर्थन हां नंतरचा शोध आहे, हे स्पष्ट होते.१९०६ साली स्थापन झालेल्या हिंदू महासभेने किंवा नंतर स्थापन झालेल्या राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघाने भारताच्या फाळणीस विरोध केला नाही, त्याविरुद्ध एक शब्द काढला नाही. छोटी-मोठी अशी एकही कृती केली नव्हती. त्यांनी फाळणी विरोधी आंदोलन केले असते आणि तरीही फाळणी झाली असे घडले असते तर फाळणीसाठी म. गांधींची हत्या असे म्हणावला वाव होता. तसेही घडलेले नाही. उलट १९३७ साली बॅ. वि. दा. सावरकर यांनी स्वत:च 'भारत हे एक राष्ट्र नसून त्यात दोन राष्ट्रे आहेत, असे मत मांडले होते.' श्री. शंकर रामचंद्र ऊर्फ मामाराव दाते या एका सावरकरवाद्याने लिहिलेल्या 'महाराष्ट्र हिंदू सभेचा इतिहास' यात नोद केली आहे, १९३७ साली अहमदाबाद येथे हिंदू महासभेच्या अध्यक्षपदावरून भाषण करताना बॅरिस्टर विनायक दामोदर सावरकर म्हणाले होते की, 'वस्तुस्थिती अशी आहे की, या देशात दोन परस्परविरोधी राष्ट्रे असून काही पेक्सावदा भावड्या राजकारणी लोकांची अशी अतिशय चुकीची समजूत आहे की, हिंदुस्थान हे आधीच एकसंध राष्ट्र झालेले आहे. म्हणून अग्नि वाटणाऱ्या घटनांनाही आपण धैर्यने तोड देऊ या. आज हिंदुस्थान एकजीव व एकात्म राष्ट्र झालेलेच आहे, असे मानण्याची चूक आपण करता कामा नये. उलट या देशात मुख्यत: हिंदू आणि मुसलमान ही दोन राष्ट्रे आहेत, हे मान्य करून चालले पाहिजे. अल्पसंख्य मुस्लिमांसाठी स्वतंत्र व्यवस्था असण्याची आणि त्यांना खास मतदार संघ असण्याची गरज तर लोकमान्य टिळकांनीच लखनौ करारात मान्य केली होती.

अखंड भारताच्या एका गंगाजळीमधून दिलेले २० कोटी सेंडून आणखी ५५ कोटी रु. पाकिस्तानला द्यावेत, असा म. गांधीनी आग्रह धरला होता म्हणून चिडून जाऊन म. गांधींची हत्या केली गेली, म. गांधींच्या पाकिस्तानधार्जिण्या धोरणामुळेच त्यांची हत्या झाला, तो करणारे भारतप्रेमी होते म्हणून त्यांनी हत्या केली, असा एक गांधी हत्येच्या समर्थनाचा मुद्दा काहीजण मांडतात. ब्रिटिशांनी भारतातून जायचे ठरले, तेव्हा अखंड भारताची शिल्लक गंगाजळी ३१२ कोटीची होती. प्रमाणशीर पद्धतीने या शिल्लक गंगाजळीची वाटणी करण्याचा कार भारत-पाकिस्तान यांनी केला. २० कोटी रुपये दिले गेले आणि हिशोब करून उरलेल्या पाकिस्तानचा वाटा त्यांना द्यायचा करार होता. ही उरलेली रक्कम प्रमाणशीर पद्धतीने ५५ कोटी भरली. पाकिस्तानला ५५ कोटी रुपये देण्याचा जो करार झाला, तो करार करण्यात म. गांधींचा संबंध नव्हता. भारताचे गृहमंत्री म्हणून या करारावर सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेलांची सही आहे.

म. गांधींच्या हत्येपूर्वी त्यांनी शेवटचा उपवास केला. तो १३ जानेवारी १९४८ रोजी सुरू झाला. दिल्लीत जातीय दंगे उद्भवते होते. गृहमंत्री म्हणून सरदार पटेल व शासनाचे प्रयत्न परिणामकारक ठरत नव्हते. म्हणून जातीय सलोख्यासाठी म. गांधीनी बेमुदत उपोषण सुरू केले. १३ जानेवारीस उपोषण सुरू होण्याअगोदरच्या दिवशी म. गांधींनी त्यांच्या प्रार्थनेनंतरच्या भाषणात दुसऱ्या दिवशी उपोषण सुरू करण्याचा निर्णय आणि त्याची कारणे सांगितली. या कारणात ५५ कोटींचा उल्लेख नाही धार्मिक दंगे आणि दिल्लीतील अशांतता हे कारण आहे उपोषणाच्या दुसऱ्या-तिसऱ्या दिवशी सरदार पटेल, पं. नेहरू इत्यादी महात्मा गांधीना भेटले. आम्ही काय करावे, असे सरदारांनी विचारले अनेक गोष्टी म गांधींनी सांगितल्या. त्यात तुम्ही कबूल केले ते ५५ कोटी पाकिस्तानला देऊन टाका, त्यांनी काश्मीरमध्ये घुसखोरी केली म्हणून तुम्ही करारभंग करू नका त्यांना द्वेष पसरवायला जाण देऊ नका, असा एक संदेश होता तो सरदार पटेलांनी मानला. १५ तारखेसच मंत्रिमंडळाने ५५ कोटी देण्याचे मान्य केले. तरीही म. गांधींनी उपोषण सोडले नाही. दिल्लीत वातावरण तंगच होते, उपोषण चालू राहिले ५५ कोटीचा आणि उपोषणाचा प्रत्यक्ष संबंध नव्हता. कराराने मान्य केलेली रक्कम न देणे योग्य नव्हे. ती रक्कम दिली पाहिजे, असे म. गांधीचे जसे मत होते, तसेच राजाजी, चिंतामणराव देशमुख, रा. कृ. पाटील यांचे व इतरांचेही मत होते. ते त्यांनी स्पष्टपणे सांगितलेही होते.

उपोषण काळात पत्रकारांनी म. गांधींना लेखी प्रश्न विचारले. गांधीजींनी त्याची उत्तरे दिली. त्यात उपोषणाचे कारण काय, असे विचारले होते. उत्तरात ५५ कोटींचा उल्लेखही नाही.५५ कोटींचे रक्कम पाकिस्तानला देण्याचा मंत्रिमंडळाने १५ जानेवारीस निर्णय घेतल्यानंतरसुद्धा तीन दिवस म. गांधीचे उपोषण सुरूच होते, सोडले. दिल्लीतल्या सर्व धर्मांच्या शांतता समिती संघटनांच्या प्रतिनिधींनी एका सात कलमी मसुद्यावर सह्या करून महात्मा गांधीना सादर केले. यात राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघाचे प्रतिनिधीही होते. त्या सात कलमांसुद्धा ५५ कोटीचा उल्लेख नाही. गांधीजींच्या शेवटच्या उपोषणाचा आणि ५५ कोटीचा वेट संबंध नव्हता. ५५ कोटीचा प्रश्न उद्भवण्याअगोदर म. गांधी यांच्या हत्येचे १९३४ पासून एकूण सात वेळा प्रयत्न झाले होते. शेवटी हत्या केलेली मंडळीच त्यात होती. एका प्रयत्नात नथुराम गोडसेला पकडलेही होते. गांधीच्या हत्येमागे ५५ कोटी पाकिस्तानला द्यावयाच्या गंगाजळीचा संबंध होता, हे समर्थन खोटे होते व खोटे आहे.

एक गोष्ट स्पष्ट आहे आणि सर्वमान्यही आहे. म. गांधी यांची हत्या वैयक्तिक कारणातून झालेली नव्हती. ती राजकीय हत्या होती. राजकीय उद्देशाने केलेली हत्या होती. राजकीय हेतू मनात ठेवून केलेली हत्या होती. ज्यांनी हत्या केली, ते विशिष्ट राजकीय 'विचारसरणी' स्वीकारलेले सुजाण आणि सुशिक्षित लोक होते. त्यांनी जाणीवपूर्वक ठरवून, योजनापूर्वक हत्या केली. हत्या केल्यानंतर त्यांनी दु:ख किंवा पश्चात्ताप व्यक्त केला नाही, राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघाने आनंद व्यक्त केल्याची नोद त्यांनाच उजवळे वाटणाऱ्या सरदार पटेलांनी करून ठेवली आहे. सरदार पटेलांच्या सुहाल्या खंडात संबंधित पत्रे आहेत त्यांनी श्री. गोळवलकर यांना लिहिलेले दि. ११ सप्टेंबर १९४८ चे एक पत्र आहे. म. गांधीच्या हत्येनंतर रा. स्व. संघाने व्यक्त केलेला आनंद सरदार पटेलांनी त्यात नोदवून ठेवला आहे. ही हत्या कोणी आणि कशी करविली या संबंधीसुद्धा गृहमंत्री सरदार पटेल यांनी दि. २७ फेब्रुवारी १९४८ रोजी पं. नेहरूना लिहिलेल्या पत्रात म्हटले आहे की, हिंदू महासभेच्या श्री. सावरकर यांच्या नेतृत्वाखालील एका विभागाने हा कट केला' आणि पार पाडला. म. गांधीच्या हत्येबद्दल ज्यांच्यावर खटला भरला, त्यांत बॅ. सावरकार एक होते. कटाच्या पुराव्याअभावी ते निर्दोष सुटले. (योग्य कागदपत्रे कोर्टापुढे जाणूनबुजून आणली गेली नाहीत, असाही एक आक्षेप काही जाणकारांनी घेतलेला आहे.) शिक्षा झालेले सर्व प्रत्यक्ष संघ स्वयंसेवक होते.

अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी भाजपचे अध्यक्ष झाले. तेव्हा त्यांनी 'गांधीवाद समाजवाद' स्वीकारला होता श्री. अडवणी यांनी स्वातंत्र्यच्या ५० व्या वर्धापन वर्षानिमित्त काढलेल्या यात्रेस सुरुवात करताना व्यासपीठावर भला मोठा गांधीचा फोटो लावला गेला होता. म. गांधींना शरीराने संपविल्यानंतर त्यांची विचारसरणी पचविण्याचा एक मार्ग म्हणून त्यांची 'विचारसरणी ही आपलीच आहे, असे सांगणे हा एक मार्ग असतो तो अनुसरला जातोय. गांधीजींच्या हत्येस आता ५० वर्षे होत आहेत. गांधींच्या मारेकऱ्यांचे 'विचारसरणी ही देशविघातक विचारसरणी आहे. गांधी हत्येकाळी ती उघडी धक्कादायक होती त्यापेक्षा ती आता जास्त धोकादायक आहे. कारण तिने आता अधिक बळ मिळविले आहे.

■ कॉ. गोविंद पानसरे, कोल्हापूर

प्रादेशिक संक्षिप्त

स्नेहसंमेलन

सांगोला, २८ जानेवारी (लो. वा.)

येथील विज्ञान महाविद्यालयाचे वार्षिक स्नेहसंमेलन नुकतेच पार पडले. या प्रसंगी शिवाजी विद्यापीठाचे पदार्थविज्ञान प्रमुख प्रा. डॉ. शिवाजीराव पवार प्रमुख पाहुणे म्हणून उपस्थित होते. याप्रसंगी बोलताना श्री. पवार म्हणाले, प्रत्येक शिक्षकांनी शाळा ही मंदिर समजून विद्यार्थी हे दैवत मानावे. शिक्षण हा स्वधर्म समजून आपले कर्तव्य बजावले पाहिजे. तसेच विद्यार्थ्यांनी नेहमीच खरे बोलावे, अध्यक्षस्थानी प्रसिद्ध विधिज्ञ पृथ्वीराज चव्हाण होते.

खंडित वीजपुरवठा

आष्टा, २८ जानेवारी (लो.वा.)

म.रा.वि.म.च्या अजब कारभारने आष्टा परिसरातील नागरिक हतबल झाले आहेत. कोणतेही कारण अथवा पूर्वसूचना न देता वीजपुरवठा दररोज खंडित केला जात असल्याने सामान्य नागरिक व व्यावसायिक त्रस्त झाले आहेत. वीजमंडळाच्या कार्यालयाकडे विचारणा केली तर समाधानकारक उत्तरे मिळत नाहीत. शेतीस पाणीपुरवठा व्यवस्थित नसल्याने शेतकऱ्यांद्दही नाराजी आहे.

मूर्तीची प्राणप्रतिष्ठा

जयसिंगपूर, २८ जानेवारी (लो.वा.)

शिरोळ-कोल्हापूर मार्गावरील मालू औद्योगिक प्रांगणामध्ये वीर हनुमान प्राण प्रतिष्ठा महोत्सवाला प्रारंभ झाला असल्याची माहिती या महोत्सवाचे संयोजक राजेंद्र मालू यांनी दिली. महोत्सवाअंतर्गत अनेक सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमांचे आयोजन करण्यात आले आहे.

शेतजमिनीच्या मोहापायी सावत्र भावाची हत्या

प्रतिनिधी

सोलापूर,२८ जानेवारी

शेतजमीन वाटणीच्या मोहापायी आपल्या सावत्र भावास विहिरीतील पाण्यात बुडवून ठार मारणाऱ्या तिघाजणांना पोलिसांनी अटक केली आहे. सांगोला तालुक्यातील भोपसेवाडी येथे हा प्रकार घडला.

दादा सुखदेव माने, रावसाहेब शंकर खांडेकर व शंकर कृष्णा खांडेकर अशी या गुन्हातील आरोपींची नावे आहेत. यापैकी दादा माने हा मयत सिद्धेश्वर सुखदेव माने (वय १३) याचा सावत्र भाऊ आहे. त्याचे वडील मरण पावले असून, त्यांच्या पश्चात आरोपी दादा हा एकटाच असून त्याशिवाय मयत सावत्रभाऊ सिद्धेश्वर तसेच दुसरा भाऊ विरा असे दोघे होते. वडिलांनी मरणापूर्वी तिन्ही मुलांना समान हिश्यात आपली शेतजमीन वाटून दिली होती. त्याप्रमाणे तिघेही भाऊ शेतजमीन वाहत होते. परंतु वडिलांच्या मृत्यूनंतर सदर शेतजमिनीची वाटणी अमान्य करीत आरोपी दादा माने हा मयत सिद्धेश्वर याच्या आईस म्हणजे स्वत:ची सावत्र आईस, वैजयंताबाई सुखदेव माने हिला नेहमी दमदाटी व शिवीगाळ करीत असे. त्यामुळे त्याने सावत्रभाऊ सिद्धेश्वर याच्या खुनाचा बेत आखला. दोन सावत्र भावांपैकी एकाचा काटा काढला तर जमिनीतील निम्मा हिस्सा मिळेल. या हेतूने त्याने आपल्या दोन साथीदारांच्या साह्याने सिद्धेश्वर याचा खून केला, असे पोलीस सूत्रांनी सांगितले.

तरुणाचा तीक्ष्ण हत्यारांने खून

दरम्यान, अक्कलकोट तालुक्यातील मौजे बिज्जेगण येथे शेतात एका बावीस वर्षांच्या तरुणाचा तीक्ष्ण हत्याराने गळ्यावर, तोंडावर नाकावर तीक्ष्ण वार करून तसेच दोन्ही हात कापून टाकून अत्यंत निर्घृणपणे खून करून मृतदेह उकरून देण्यात आल्याचा प्रकार उघडकीस आला. मारेकऱ्यांनी भयत तरुणाच्या अंगावरील कपडे काढल्याचेही प्रयत्न केल्याचे दिसून आले. याबाबत अक्कलकोट साऊथ पोलीस ठाण्याचे सहायक पोलीस निरीक्षक जी. व्ही. निकम हे तपास करीत आहेत.

सांगोला येथे अंबिका देवीची यात्रा

सांगोला, २८ जानेवारी (लो. वा.)

सांगोला शहरातील प्रसिद्ध अंबिका देवीच्या यात्रेनिमित्त सांगोला येथे शेतीमाल व जनावरांचे भव्य प्रदर्शन आयोजित करण्यात आल्याची माहिती. कोर्ट रिसिव्हर अँड. एन. पी. देवकते यांनी दिली. सालाबादप्रमाणे चालू वर्षी २९ जानेवारी ९८ रोजी 'श्री'ची स्थापना व मिरवणूक,स शुक्रवार ३० जानेवारी ९८ ते सोमवार २ फेब्रुवारीपर्यंत शेळ्या-मेंढ्यांचा बाजार, खिलार जनावरांच्या नोंदी, मंगळवार ३ फेब्रुवारी रोजी रथसप्तमी निमित्त अंबिकादेवीची महापूजा व महानैवेद्य, बुधवार ४ फेब्रुवारी रोजी शेतीमाल व हस्तकला निवड व दुपारी ३ वाजता कुस्ती स्पर्धा, गुरुवार ५ फेब्रुवारी रोजी जनावरांची निवड, शुक्रवारी ६ फेब्रुवारी रोजी वक्षीस समारंभ करून सायंकाळी ८ वाजता यात्रेची सांगता होणार आहे.

चार हजार प्रकरणे निकाली

जत,२८ जानेवारी (लो. वा.)

महसुली कामांच्या निपटाऱ्यासाठी आयोजित 'शासन आपल्या दारी' कार्यक्रमातून तालुक्यातील ४ हजारांवर प्रकरणांचा निपटारा करण्यात आल्याची माहिती, जतचे तहसीलदार रामराव कांबळे यांनी दै. 'लोकसत्ता'ला दिली. आतापर्यंत ४७ गावांत दरबाराचा कार्यक्रम झाला

उमेदवारास १० हजाराची अनामत

दैनंदिन खर्चाचा अहवाल तीन दिवसांनी देण्याची मुभा

प्रतिनिधी

कोल्हापूर,२८ जानेवारी

लोकसभा निवडणुकीच्या रिंगणात मोठ्या संख्येने उतरणाऱ्या उमेदवारांना रोखण्यासाठी निवडणूक आयोगाने विविध उपाययोजना केल्या आहे. यानुसार आता निवडणूक रिंगणात येऊ इच्छिणाऱ्या उमेदवारास दहा हजार रुपये इतकी अनामत रक्कम द्यावी लागेल, तर स्वतंत्र उभे राहू इच्छिणाऱ्या उमेदवारास दहा सूचक मतदारांचीही सोय करावी लागणार आहे.

लोकसभा निवडणुकीच्या पार्श्वभूमीवर केंद्रीय निवडणूक आयोगाने नुकत्याच काही बदलासंदर्भात सूचना जारी केल्या आहेत. गत निवडणुकीत झालेल्या अनुभवावर आधारित या सूचना तयार करण्यात आल्या आहेत. गतवेळी अनामत रक्कमेची मर्यादा वाढविल्यानंतर या संख्येवर नियंत्रण ठेवता येईल, असे या मागे अभिप्रेत आहे. तथापि यामध्ये मागासवर्गीयांसाठी सवलत असून त्यांना अनामत रक्कम पाच हजार रुपये इतकी द्यावी लागेल.

अनामत रक्कम परत मिळण्यासाठी मात्र पूर्वीचाच कायद्याचा आधार घेण्यात आला आहे. उमेदवाराला आता अनामत रक्कम टिकविण्यासाठी वैध मताच्या एक षष्ठांश इतकी मते मिळवावी लागतील. याखेरीज पक्षीय उमेदवारांसाठी त्यांना अ व ब शीर्षकांचे फॉर्म्स भरुन देण्याकरिताही बंधन घालण्यात आले आहे. पूर्वी हे अर्ज छाननीवेळी उपलब्ध केले तरी चालत होते. आता उमेदवारी अर्ज दाखल करण्याच्या मुदतीपर्यंत ते द्यावे लागतील, अन्यथा तो उमेदवार विशेषत कर्नाटकातील वेळगाव मतदारसंघात सर्वाधिक उमेदवारांनी आपले अर्ज दाखल केले होते. एखाद्या स्थानिक अथवा राज्य पातळीवरील प्रस्तावर निषेधात्मक कृती म्हणून अशा प्रकारे मोठ्या संख्येने उमेदवारी अर्ज दाखल केले जातात. यामागे दोन प्रकारचे उद्देश असतात. संपूर्ण देशाचे आपल्या प्रस्नाकडे लक्ष वेधण्याचा एक प्रयत्न असतो तसेच निवडणुकीसाठी सज्ज झालेली शासकीय यंत्रणाही विस्कळीत करण्याचा प्रयत्न असतो.

कर्नाटकात सीमा प्रस्नावरून उमेदवारी अर्जांची संख्या वाढली आणि मतपत्रिका कशी तयार करावयाची असा प्रश्न यंत्रणेसमोर होता. या गोष्टीला लगाम घालण्याचा हा प्रयत्न आहे.

अनामत रक्कमेची मर्यादा वाढविल्यानंतर या संख्येवर नियंत्रण ठेवता येईल, असे या मागे अभिप्रेत आहे. तथापि यामध्ये मागासवर्गीयांसाठी सवलत असून त्यांना अनामत रक्कम पाच हजार रुपये इतकी द्यावी लागेल.

अनामत रक्कम परत मिळण्यासाठी मात्र पूर्वीचाच कायद्याचा आधार घेण्यात आला आहे. उमेदवाराला आता अनामत रक्कम टिकविण्यासाठी वैध मताच्या एक षष्ठांश इतकी मते मिळवावी लागतील. याखेरीज पक्षीय उमेदवारांसाठी त्यांना अ व ब शीर्षकांचे फॉर्म्स भरुन देण्याकरिताही बंधन घालण्यात आले आहे. पूर्वी हे अर्ज छाननीवेळी उपलब्ध केले तरी चालत होते. आता उमेदवारी अर्ज दाखल करण्याच्या मुदतीपर्यंत ते द्यावे लागतील, अन्यथा तो उमेदवार पक्षीय समजला जाणार नाही आणि त्याला पक्षीय निवडणूक चिन्हापासून मुकावे लागेल.

निवडणूक आयोगाने या खेपेस प्रचारामध्ये नियमित वापरात येणाऱ्या काही माध्यमांसंदर्भात बंधने घालण्याचा कसोशीने प्रयत्न केला आहे. प्रचारासाठी वाहनांचा वापर, पोस्टर्स व बॅनर्सचा वापर, मिरवणूक आणि प्रचार सभा यासंच निवडणूक कालावधीमध्ये शस्त्रास्त्रे बाळगणे यासंदर्भात ही विशेष तरतूद करण्यात आली आहे.

यापुढे उमेदवारांना आपल्या प्रचारास जाताना तीन वाहनांखेरीज जादा वाहने घेऊ जाता येणार नाहीत. मिरवणुका व सभा यासाठी निवडणूक आयोगाने परवानगी घ्यावी लागेल. तसेच शस्त्रास्त्रे बाळगण्याचा परवाना असलेल्या व्यक्तींनाही सार्वजनिक ठिकाणी शस्त्रे बाळगता येणार नाहीत. या सर्व मुद्द्यांचा समावेश भारतीय दंड विधानाच्या १४४ कलमाखाली करण्यात आला आहे. यानुसार कलमाचा भंग करणाऱ्यास शिक्षेस पात्र ठरविण्यात येईल.

निवडणुकीला उभे राहणाऱ्या उमेदवाराला निवडणुकीच्या दैनंदिन खर्चासंदर्भात यापूर्वी घालण्यात आलेले बंधन शिथिल करण्यात आले आहे. पूर्वीच्या सूचनेनुसार उमेदवाराला प्रतिदिन खर्चाचे हिशोब देण्याचे बंधन होते. तथापि काही राजकीय पक्षांनी केलेल्या विनंतीनुसार आता दैनंदिन अहवालाऐवजी प्रत्येक तीन दिवसांनी हा अहवाल सादर करण्याची मुभा निवडणूक आयोगाने दिली आहे.

कळंबा कारागृहात सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम

कोल्हापूर, २८ जानेवारी (लो. प्र.)

प्रजासत्ताक दिनानिमित्त येथील कळंबा मध्यवर्ती कारागृहामधील बंदीजनांनी स्वतच विविध सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम दमवून ते बहारदारपणे कारागृहातील रसिकांवर सादर केले.

काही अपवाद का होईना परंतु सर्व विसरून उपस्थित बंदीजनांनी त्याम दिलेली दाद ही केवळ उल्लेखनीय अशीच म्हणावी लागेल.

मध्यवर्ती कारागृहातील बंदीजनांनी 'प्रायश्चित्त' ही नाटिका अत्यंत प्रभावीपणे सादर केली. नाट्यप्रवेश, नमन, पात्र परिचय, दिग्दर्शन, वेशभूषा, संवाद, संगीत इत्यादी विविध अंगे बंदीजनांनीच प्रभावीपणे सांभाळली होती.

कैद्यांच्या अंतर्गत कबड्डी, व्हॉलीबॉल, कुस्ती इत्यादी स्पर्धांही जल्लाशी वातावरणात पार पडल्या. महाबीर विद्यालयाच्या राष्ट्रीय सेवा योजनेच्या विद्यार्थ्यांनीही काही सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम सादर केले.

या कार्यक्रमास जोडूनच जिल्हा कारागृह अधीक्षक यशवंतराव रोकडे यांच्या मार्गदर्शनाखाली कारागृह कॉलनीत स्वच्छ व टापटीप सदनिकांची स्पर्धा घेण्यात आली. कारागृह कर्मचाऱ्यांच्याही विविध क्रीडा स्पर्धा आयोजिण्यात येऊन त्यात यशस्वी ठरलेल्या कर्मचाऱ्यांना प्रोत्साहनपर पुरस्कार देण्यात आले. विविध परीक्षांत नैपुण्य मिळविणाऱ्या कारागृह कर्मचाऱ्यांच्या मुलांना पारितोषिकांचे वितरण करण्यात आले.

यावेळी कारागृहाचे उपअधीक्षक ए. जी. कांबळे, प्रा. प्रताप कोचुरे आदी उपस्थित होते.

शासनाच्या निषेधार्थ आज शे.का.प.चा मोर्चा

कराड, २८ जानेवारी (लो.वा.)

कृष्णा सहकारी साखर कारखान्याचे संचालक मंडळ बरखास्त करून युती सरकारने ऊस उत्पादकांच्या मालकी हकवावरच दरोडा घातला असून, शासनाच्या या कृतीस चोख उत्तर देणारा मोर्चा उद्या गुरुवारी २९ जानेवारी रोजी काढण्यात येईल, असे शेतकरी कामकरी पक्षाचे ॲड. रवींद्र पवार यांनी एका पत्रकाद्वारे जाहीर केले आहे.

वडगाव समाजकंड अमणारं सहकारी चळवळीचे नेतृत्व नेस्तनाबूत करण्याचे धोरण महाराष्ट्रातील युती शासनाने अवलंबले आहे. पण कृष्णा कारखान्याचा गावकऱ्य स्वाभिमानी

सोलापूर कस्मणूक

दिनांक २३ ते २९ जानेवारी ९८

चित्रपटगृह	मॉर्निंग	मॅटिनी	रेग्युलर
उमा	दामिनी	बदमाश	बदमाश
चित्रा	पत्थर के इन्सान	अफलातून	दिल तो पागल है
कला	गहरी चाल	शेर-ए-हिंदुस्तान	शेर-ए-हिंदुस्तान
छाया	तेजस्विनी	स्त्री-पुरुष	स्त्री-पुरुष
आशा	दो रास्ते	मोहोब्बत	चार धाम
मीना	तोहफा	दिलवाले दुल्हनियाँ ले जायेंगे	चाची ४२०

'आपसातील मतभेद मिटवून काँग्रेसला विजयी करा'

वार्ताहर

सांगोला, २८ जानेवारी

काँग्रेस पक्ष अडचणीत असताना कार्यकर्त्यांनी आपापसातील मतभेद मिटवून काँग्रेस पक्षाला विजयी करणे काळाची गरज आहे, असे आवाहन सोलापूर जिल्हा काँग्रेस कमेटीचे अध्यक्ष दिनानाथ कमळे (गुरुजी) यांनी केले.

पंढरपूर लोकसभा मतदारसंघातील काँग्रेस पक्षाचे उमेदवार संदीपान थोरात यांच्या प्रचारार्थ आयोजित केलेल्या कार्यकर्त्यांच्या बैठकीत कमळे गुरुजी यांनी हे आवाहन केले.

मंगळवेढ्याचे आमदार लक्ष्मणराव ढोबळे म्हणाले की, राजीवगांधी काँग्रेस पक्षाची सत्ता श्रीमती सोनिया गांधींना पंतप्रधान होऊ देणार नाही असे बाळासाहेब ठाकरे यांनी केलेल्या वक्तव्यावर बोलताना आमदार ढोबळे म्हणाले की, 'भारत हा लोकशाहीप्रधान देश आहे. कोणाला पंतप्रधान करावयाचे हे लोकसभेच्या निवडणुकीत देशातील जनता ठरवेल. श्रीमती सोनिया गांधींना विदेशी म्हटले जाते तर अडवाणी कुठे जन्मले काँग्रेस कार्यकर्त्यांनी आपसातील मतभेद मिटवून पक्षाच्या उमेदवारांस विजयी करण्यासाठी जिवाचे रान करावे असे आवाहन केले

आमदार शहाजीबापू पाटील म्हणाले की, उमेदवार व्यक्ती कोण आहे हे न पाहता काँग्रेस पक्ष व काँग्रेस पक्षाचे हात चिन्ह पाहून मतदान

कोल्हापूर जिल्ह्यात उद्यापासून कुष्ठरोग निर्मूलन मोहीम

प्रतिनिधी

कोल्हापूर, २८ जानेवारी

कुष्ठरोगावर योग्य वेळी योग्य उपचार झाल्यास हा आजार अल्पावधीत पूर्णपणे बरा होऊ शकतो. तेव्हा कुष्ठरोग रुग्णांनी मनात कोणतीही भीती न बाळगता उपचार करून घ्यावेत, असा दिलासा जिल्हाधिकारी मनुकुमार श्रीवास्तव यांनी मंगळवारी सुधारित कुष्ठरोग दूरीकरण मोहिमेअंतर्गत घेतलेल्या बैठकीत दिला.

राष्ट्रीय कुष्ठरोग निर्मूलन कार्यक्रमांतर्गत कोल्हापूर जिल्ह्यात ३० जानेवारी ते पाच फेब्रुवारी अखेर सुधारित कुष्ठरोग शोध व उपचार मोहीम राबविण्यात येणार असून याकरिता योग्य प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारी वर्ग नेमण्यात आला आहे.

कुष्ठरोग सर्वांनाच होत नसून कुष्ठरोगाविषयी विशिष्ट रोगप्रतिकार शक्ती कमी असणाऱ्यांनाच हा रोग होतो. कुष्ठरोग हा कुष्ठजंतूमुळेच होत असून त्याची लक्षणे सर्वसाधारणपणे न खाजणारे व दुखावणारा फिकट लालसर रंगाचा चट्टा किंवा चट्टे पडणे, अंगावरील कातडी लालसर, भऊ, तेलकट, चकचकीत दिसणे, मज्जातंतू जाड व दुखऱ्या होणे आणि हातापायास मुंग्या येणे व बधिरता येणे इत्यादी असतात. यावर दिवसातून एक कप चहामधून वैद्यकीय अधिकाऱ्यांनी सांगितल्याप्रमाणे औषध घेतल्यास दोन ते पाच चट्टे सहा महिन्यांत तर सहा किंवा जास्त चट्टे व संसर्गजन्य रुग्ण एक वर्षात पूर्णत बरा होतो.

बैठकीस मुख्य कार्यकारी अधिकारी श्रीधर पळसुले, जिल्हा शल्य चिकित्सक डॉ. श्रीमती के. एन. वाठुंकर, आरोग्य उपसंचालक डॉ. एस. के. बनसोडे, समाज कल्याण अधिकारी बाजीराव पाटील, वैद्यकीय अधिकारी डॉ. चव्हाण, डॉ. उपासनी उपस्थित होते.

• पंढरपूर, २८ जानेवारी (लो. वा.)

क.भा.पा. महाविद्यालयात 'एडस' निवारण जनजागृती हा कार्यक्रम नुकताच पार पडला.



ಬೆರೆತು ಸಹಜೀವನ ನಡೆಸುವುದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಇಂತಹ ಭೂಮಿಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಗೇ. ನಿಜಾಂಶವೇನೆಂದರೆ

fire) ಸುತ್ತುವಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಹುಶಃ ಇದನ್ನು ಕಂಡ ಬೆನ್ನುರು ಸಮುದ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಂಕಿ

ವುಟ್ಟು ನಕ್ಷತ್ರಗಳಂತೆ ಮಿನುಗುಟ್ಟುವ ಕೀಟಗಳನ್ನು ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ನೋಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕೀಟಗಳಿಗೆ

ಎಂದೂ ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇವಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾರಾಡಲು ಅನುಕೂಲವಾದ ತಳ್ಳನೆಯ ರೆಕ್ಕೆಗಳು ಇಕ್ಕೆಲಗಳಲ್ಲೂ

ಕೊಂಚ ಕೊಂಚ ತೆರವುಳ್ಳ ಜಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಬ್ಬಿಗೆ ಅಂಟಿಕೊಂಡಂತೆ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಶಂಖಿದ ಹುಳುಗಳು

ಸ್ಕ್ಯಾನ್ ಪುಟ ನೋಡಿ

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್:

ದೇಶೀಯ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗೆ ಕಿನ್ನಾಡೆ

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ಪ್ರಂದದಿಂದ ದೇಶನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವ ವೈಜ್ಞಾ ಹಾಗೂ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಸಂಶೆನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣ ವಿರಾಹಾಕಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬರುವ ದಿನಗೂರುವಿಲ್ಲ

ಷೆ. ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸನ್



ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವಕ್ಕೆ ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ತನ್ನ ಸಮ್ಮತಿಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸಿ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದೆ. 2003ನೇ ಇಸ್ವಿ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಈ ಒಪ್ಪಂದವನ್ನು ಜಾರಿಗೊಳಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಇಂದಿನ ಕಾನೂನು ಕಟ್ಟಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅವಶ್ಯರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುವುದು. ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಈ ರೀತಿ ಬದಲಾಗುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಏನೇನೂ ಸಂಶಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವ. ಅಂದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿಯ ಪ್ರಭಾವವನ್ನು ಬೀರಬಹುದು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಏನಾಗಬಹುದು ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ವಿವೇಚಿಸುವುದು ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ಉದ್ದೇಶ.

ಎರಡನೆಯ ಮಹಾಯುದ್ಧದ ನಂತರ ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಅವು ವಿಧಿಸುವ ಆಮದು ಸುಂಕ ಇವುಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವಿಪುಲ ಚರ್ಚೆ ನಡೆದು. ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗೂ ಸೇರಿದಂತೆ ಒಂದು ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುವುದು ಅವೇಕ್ಷಣೀಯ ಮತ್ತು ಅಗತ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಮೂಡಿ ಬಂದಿತು. ಪರಿಣಾಮವಾಗಿ, ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಂತೆ ಅನೇಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳು ಒಂದೆಡೆ ಸೇರಿ, 1947 ರಿಂದ ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದವು.

ಈ ಚರ್ಚೆ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲ ಮುಂದುವರಿದು, ಅದರ ಕಡೆಯ ಹಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಅಂದರೆ ಅಂತರ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಆಮದು ಸುಂಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಒಂದು ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದದ ಕರಡನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವ ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯನ್ನು, ಅಂದು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಆರ್ಥರ್ ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಅವರಿಗೆ ವಹಿಸಲಾಯಿತು. ಅವರು ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಿದ ಕರಡು ಒಪ್ಪಂದವನ್ನು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ DDT (Dunkel draft treaty) ಅಥವಾ ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವ ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಈ ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಕವಾಗಿರುವ ಮೂರು ಪ್ರಧಾನ ವಿಷಯಗಳೆಂದರೆ GATT TRIM ಮತ್ತು TRIPS GATS ಅಂದರೆ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಸೇವಾ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ. ಎಂದರೆ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಬಂಡವಾಳ ಹೂಡಿಕೆ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮ. ಮತ್ತು TRIPS ಎಂದರೆ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ಆಸ್ತಿಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹಕ್ಕು ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ.

ಈ ಮೂರು ವಿಷಯಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆಯೇ ಎಲ್ಲದೆ. ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯೆ ಉದ್ಭವಿಸಬಹುದಾದ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರೀ ಸಂಬಂಧಿ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳ ನಿರ್ಮೂರ್ಥಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತವಾಗುವ MTO, ಅಂದರೆ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರೀ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆಯೂ ಚರ್ಚೆ. ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವ ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವದ ಮೂರು ಪ್ರಧಾನ ವಿಷಯಗಳ ಪೈಕಿ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಪರಿಣಾಮಕಾರಿಯಾಗಿ ನೇರ ಹಾಗೂ ವ್ಯಾಪಕವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಬೀರಬಲ್ಲ ವಿಚಾರ ಎಂದರೆ TRIPS ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಇದರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ವಿವರವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪ ಮಾಡುವುದು ಅಗತ್ಯ.

ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್

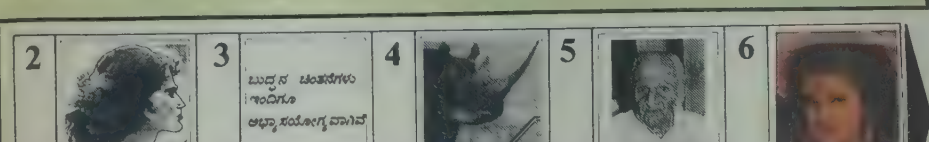
TRIPS ನ ಮುಖ್ಯ ವಿಷಯ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ಆಸ್ತಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಹಕ್ಕು ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಸುವ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿಚಾರಗಳನ್ನು ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂದ್ದಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಎನ್ನುವಾಗ, ನಮ್ಮ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ಬರು ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಜರುಗುವ ಅನೇಕ ರೀತಿಯ ಸಂಶೆಗಳು, ಅವಿಷ್ಕಾರಗಳು, ಮತ್ತು ಅವುಗಳ ವರವಾಗಿ ಫಲಿಸುವ ಯಂತ್ರ– ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ, ಅಲ್ಲದೆವಹಾರಿಕ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕ್ರ– ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನದಿಂದ ಲಭಿಸುವ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ . ತಥಾ ವಿಧಾನ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳು. ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲಾ ನಾವು ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತು ಎಂದೇ ಪರಿಗಣಿಸುತ್ತೆಈ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ಗಳಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದರೆ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳನ್ನು ಒಒಗಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೇ ಪ್ರಯೋಗ ಶಾಲೆ. ಉಪಕರಣಗಳಒಸಾಯನಿಕ ಪದಾರ್ಥಗಳು.... ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳನ್ನೂಡ ಹೊಂದಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವೆಲ್ಲಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಪಾ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಣವನ್ನು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ತಯಾರಿಕಾ ವಿಧಾನ– ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಸಿದ್ಧ ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯವಾತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ರೀತಿಯ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ. ಇವುಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಶೋಧಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಡಗುವ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕಾ ಉದ್ಯಮಿಗಳೂ ಸಹ ತಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಪ್ರತಿಫಲವನ್ನು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುವುದುಹಜವೇ ಸರಿ. ಈ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಅದರ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯಕ್ಕು ಏಬು ಕಲ್ಪನೆ ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡುಲಕ್ಕಮೇಣ ಅದು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಕಾನೂನು ರೂಪವನ್ನು ಪಡುಕೊಂಡಿತು. ಕಾನೂನುವತ್ತ ಈ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಸಾಮ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಬೌದ್ಧಿಕ ಆಸ್ತಿ ಹಕ್ಕು ಎನ್ನುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಕೂಸು ಈ ರೀತಿ ಒಗಿಸುವ ಹಕ್ಕು ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ವಾಮನ್ನು 'ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್' ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಪೇಟೆಟ್ ದಾರಿಸುದಾರರಿಗೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ ಪೂರ್ಣ ಪ್ರತಿಫಲವನ್ನು ದೊರಕಿಸಿ ಕೊಡುವುದು. ಇತರರನ್ನು ಇಂಥದ ಹೊರಗಿಸಿಸುವುದು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಉದ್ದೇಶವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಈಗ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನುಗಳನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದಾಗ ಅವು ಏರಡು ರೀತಿಯುದಾಗಿರುವುದು ಕಂಡು ಬರುತ್ತದೆ ಅಮೆರಿಕ. ಕೆನಡ ಮುಂತಾದ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾನೂನನ್ನು product patent ಎಂದರೆ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಗೆ..... ಕೆಲವು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಶೀಲ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಚಲಿತವಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು process patent ಎಂದರೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಆಗಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಕಾಣುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅಮೆರಿಕಾದ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದಾಗ, ಅದು ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳ ಅಂದರೆ, ಅಂತಿಮವಾಗಿ ತಯಾರಾಗಿ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಗೆ ಬರುವ ಸಿದ್ಧ ವಸ್ತುಗಳ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ದಾರರಿಗೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ನ್ನು ಸಂಶೋಧಕನೇ ಪಡೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಇಲ್ಲವೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದಕ ಪಡೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಅಂತಹ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇನ್ನಾವ ಸಂಶೋಧಕನಾಗಲೇ. ಉದ್ಯಮಿಯಾಗಲಿ ಈ ಸಿದ್ಧ ವಸ್ತುವನ್ನು ಅದೇ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದಾಗಲಿ ಅಥವಾ ಬೇರೆ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದಾಗಲಿ ತಯಾರು ಮಾಡುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನು ಕಾನೂನು ಉಲ್ಲಂಘನೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಅಪರಾಧಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಗಾಗಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಾರ್ಹನಾಗುತ್ತನೆ. ಈ ಅಪರಾಧಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯ ಅವನಿಗೆ ಶಿಕ್ಷೆ ವಿಧಿಸಬಹುದು. ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ process patent ಅಂದರೆ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ರೀತಿಯದಾಗಿದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕಾನೂನು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡು ಚಾಲ್ತಿಗೆ

ಅವಧಿ 20 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ. ಅಂದರೆ ಈ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ದಾರ ಅನಿರ್ಬಂಧಿತವಾಗಿ ಅದರ ಪೂರ್ಣ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಅವಧಿಯ ನಂತರ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ದಾರ ತನ್ನ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಕಳೆದು ಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶ: ಹಾಗೆಯೆ. ತೃತೀಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಕೆಲವು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದು 1970 ರಿಂದೀಚೆಗೆ. ಆದರ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತುಲ ಕೆಲವು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗಳೇ ಒಂದಲ್ಲ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿದುಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಿದ್ದವು. ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ಕಾಲಮಿತಿ 5 ವರ್ಷಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದು ಕೆಲವು ವಿಶೇಷ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲಮಿತಿ 7 ವರ್ಷ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಇನ್ನು ಕೆಲವೇ ಕೆಲವು ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲಮಿತಿ 14 ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಇರುವುದೂ ಉಂಟು. ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾನೂನಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಒಂದು ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ವಿಷಯವೆಂದರೆ ಅನೇಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿನಾಯಿತಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಹೊರಗಿಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು. ಕೃಷಿಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ, ತೋಟಗಾರಿಕೆ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ, ಎಲ್ಲ ರೀತಿಯ ಔಷಧಿಗಳ ತಯಾರಿಕೆ, ಬೈಜಿಕ್ ವಿದ್ಯುತ್ಶಾದನೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಎಲ್ಲ ರೀತಿಯ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆಗಳು ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮ ಜೈವಿಕ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳು. ಆವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲಕ್ಕೂ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯಿಂದ ವಿನಾಯಿತಿ ದೊರಕಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯ ವಿಷಯ ಎಂದರೆ, ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ ದೊರಕಿದಂದರೆ, ಬೇರೆ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿಯ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದಾಗಲಿ. ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಯಿಂದಾಗಲಿ ಆ ಸಿದ್ಧವಸ್ತುವನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವುದು ಸ್ಯಾಯ ಬಾಹಿರ. ಆದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ರೀತಿಯ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ಗೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಅದೇ ಸಿದ್ಧ ವಸ್ತುವನ್ನು ಬೇರೆ ರೀತಿಯ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಅಥವಾ ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದ ಬೇರೊಬ್ಬ ಉದ್ಯಮಿ ಅಥವಾ ಸಂಶೋಧಕ ಅದೇ ಸಿದ್ಧವಸ್ತುವನ್ನು ತಯಾರು ಮಾಡುವುದು ಅಪರಾಧವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಪೆನ್ ತಯಾರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡರೆ, ಅಮೆರಿಕಾ ಅತಾಹ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹಕ್ಕು ದೊರಕಿದರೆ, ಆ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಇತರ ಉದ್ಯಮಿಗಳಾರೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಅದೇ ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದಾಗಲಿ. ಅಥವಾ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಪರ್ಯಾಯವಾದ ಬೇರೊಂದು ವಿಧಾನದಿಂದಾಲಿ ತಯಾರಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ನಮ್ಮಂತಹ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೆ ವಿಧಾನ ಅನುಸರಿಸಿ ಅದೇ ಪೆನ್ನನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಮತ್ತು ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಿದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾನೂನಿನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅದು

ಐದನೇ ಪುಟ ನೋಡಿ



ಮಲಯಾಳಂ ಮೂಲ: ಎಂ. ಸುಕುಮಾರನ್

ಅನುವಾದ: ಕೆ.ಕೆ. ನಾಯರ್

ನನ್ನ ಮುಂದೆ ಆತ್ಮ ಕೊಚ್ಚಾದ ಕ್ಯಾನ್ಸರ್‌ಗೆ ನಿಂತಿರುವ ಆರೋಪಿಯನ್ನು ನಾನು ಸಾತ್ವಿಕ ಗೊಳಿಸಿದೆ. ನೀನು ಸಮರ್ಥನೆ ತಂದಿಕೊ ಹೊಸ ಮೇಯರ್ ಬಂದ ಬಳಿಕ ನಾವು ಹೊಸ ಗುರಿಯಲ್ಲೇಗಳಿಗೆ ಬಾಳುವೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸೋಣ. ಮಾಯಿಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಉದ್ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿನಿಯಮ ಮಾಡೋಣ.

ಶಿಶಿರ ಕೊನೆಗೊಂಡಾಗ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾರ್ಪೋರೇಶನ್‌ಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಮೇಯರ್ ದೊರೆತರು. ವಯಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಹಿರಿಯರಾಗಿರುವ ಗೌಡರು ಉಡುಪಸ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಸುಕ್ಕಿಕೊಂಡುವ ಸಮ್ಮಿಳಗೆ ಮೂಡಿದ ಆಹ್ವಾದನ್ನು ಮೇರಿಯಂಗಳು ಮಹಿಸಿಕೊಂಡವು. ವಿಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲೂ ಹೂವುಗಳು ಅರಳು ನಗೆ ಚೆಲ್ಲಿದುವು. ಗಾಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ತೋಲಾಡಿ ಹೊಸ ಮೇಯರ್‌ರಿಗೆ ಶುಭಾಶಂಸನೆಗಳನ್ನರ್ಪಿಸಿದುವು. ಸಾವು ಕಾಪಾಸ್ಸೇಸ್‌ನ ಹೆಬ್ಬಾಗಿಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾಗತ ಕಮಾನುಗಳನ್ನೆಬ್ಬಿಸಿ ಪುಷ್ಪನ್ನಕ್ಷಿ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದವು. ನಾನು ಪುರುಷ ವಿಭಾಗದ ಮುಂದಿಯೂ ಆರುಂಧತಿ ಸ್ತ್ರೀ ವಿಭಾಗದ ಮುಂದಿಯೂ ನಿಂತುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೆವು. ನಮ್ಮೆರಡು ಗುಂಪ್ಪುಗಳೂ ಒಂದರ ಬಳಿಕ ಒಂದರಂತೆ ಹಾಡಿದೆವು: ವಸಂತಾಗಮನದ ಸಮಗ್ರ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯಾನುಭವಿಗೆ ದಯಮಾಡಿಸಿರುವ ನಗರಪಿತನೇ, ಎಂದೆಂದೂ ವಸಂತ ವಷ್ಟೇ ಆರಳುವ ನಗರವೊಂದನ್ನು ನಮಗೆ ದಯ ಪಾಲಿಸು. ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಕಾಲಾಕಾಲಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪೀಡಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವ ಅಮಿತ ಶೈತ್ಯವನ್ನು ವಿವೇತ ಬೇಗೆಯನ್ನು ಹದ್ದಿನ್ನೆರಿಸಲು ನಾವು ಸಹಕಾರ ನೀಡುವೆವು.

ನಮ್ಮ ಆಹ್ವಾವ ಪ್ರವೇಶನದ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇಯರ್ ನಮ್ಮ ಮೇಲ್ಜಗತ್ತಿಗೆ ತಾರಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿ ಕೊಂಡರು. ಮೊಣಕಾಲಿನ ತನಕ ಇಳಿದಿರುವ ಕಪ್ಪು ನಿಲುವಂಗಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಎದೆಯ ಮೇಲೊಂದು ಬಿಳಿ ಹೂವನ್ನು ನಾವು ಮೊದಲು ಕಂಡೆವು. ಉದ್ದನೆಯ ಮೂಗಿನ ಹೊಳ್ಳೆಗಳನ್ನು ಆಗಲಾಗಿ ತೆರೆದು ಉಸಿರೆಳೆದು ಕೆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಆಗಲಾವಾದ ಆಂಗ್ಲಗಳನ್ನು ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೆತ್ತಿ ನವಗೆ ಆಶೀರ್ವಾದ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಬಳಿಕ ನಮ್ಮ ಕುರಿತೇ ಮಾತಾಡಿದರು. ನಮ್ಮ ಆಹಾರ, ವಸ್ತ್ರ, ವಸತಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಮುಳ್ಳು ಬೇಲಿಯ ಒಳಗಡೆ ಆವರ ಪ್ರಾಣರಕ್ಷಣೆಯ ಹೊಣೆಗಾರಿಕೆ ಈ ಹೊಸ ಗಿರಿಯರಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಆಗಲಾಗಿ ತೆರೆಯಬೇಕು ನಾವತ್ತ ತೆರೆದೂ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಪ್ರವೇಶಿಸಲು ಪ್ರೇರಣೆಯು ನಾನು ಹಿಂಗಿದೂ ನನ್ನ ಸಖನಾಗಿ ಇತ್ತ ಬಾಗಿಲನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಗತಾತರಣಿಯಂತಿಗೆ ಸುಷ್ಠುವಿದ್ದೂ ಯಾಕೆ? ನಾನು ಹೊಗಲು ಹಾಡಬೇಧಾಗಿದ ವಿಶಾಲ ಉಪ್ಪಾಸನೆಯ ಹಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಹೂವಿನ ಪರಿಮಳ ಹೀರುತ್ತ ಮೊಗಸತಾಲುವುದ ತನಕ ಮೆಲ್ಲಗಿಲು ತೆರೆದು ಕೊ ಇತ್ತು ಬಳಿಕ ತೆರೆದಿಟ್ಟಿಕೊಲೂ ಕೃ! ಅನಿಸು ನೋಟ್ಟಿದರು.

ನಾನು ಪೂಜಾ ಕೊಠಡಿಯನ್ನಿರಿಸಲ್ಪ ಕಾದು ನಿತೆ. ನನ್ನಲ್ಲಿ ಕರೆ ತಂದ ತಮ್ಮ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ ಮುಗಿಯಿತು ಎಂಬಂತೆ ಬೇಟಿ ಕೊಕಳಲ್ಲಿರಿಸಿ ಬಿಡಿಗೆಯಿಂದ ನೆಲಕ್ಕೆ ಬಿಡಿ ಉದಾಸವಾಗಿ ಹೊರಟು ಹೋದರು.

ಪೂಜಾ ಕೊಠಡಿ ತೆರೆದೊಪ್ಪಿಸಿರಲ್‌ರಿಗೆ ನಾನು ಗೌರವ ಪೂರ್ವಕ ವಂದನೆ ಸ್ಸ ಕಳಿದ ಹತ್ತೊಪ್ಪತ್ತೇರೋ ತಾಸುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯರ ದೈಹಿಕ ವಾಗಿಯೂ ವಿಳಿದಿದ್ದರು. ಪ್ರಾಯಬೇಲಿನ ಉಡುಗೆ ಧರಿಸಿದ ಕಂಡಕ್ಟರಿಂದ ಹಾಗೆ ಅನಿ ಬಹುದು.

ಮೇಯರ್‌ರ ತಟಿಗಳು ಚವ್ವು. ಈ ಬೃಹ ತ್ಕಾವ ಆರಮನೆಯನ್ನೂ ಇರೂ ಬೃಹತ್ಕಾವ ಉದ್ಯಾನವನ್ನು ಸುಂದರವಾಗಿಟ್ಟುಲು ನಿಗೆಗೊಬ್ಬ ಹಾಡುಗಾರಿಯು ಆಶ್ರಿತರಿದೆ ಹಿ ಮೇಯರ್. ಆ ಸೂತರವಪ್ತ್ರ. ನಗರವ್ಯೇತೀಯ ಆಂತಿಯೇ ಈ ಆರಮನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊಲಸು ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ. ಈ ಆರಮನೆಯ ಸೈಮ್ಯಾರ್ಪದ ಹೊಣ್ಣಿ ನಾನು ನಿಗೆ ವಿಷ್ಟಿಸುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಇವ್ವಿಂದಲೇ ನಿಗೆ ಸಾಕಾಗ ದೊರೆಯಿ ತ್ತದೆ. ಧರಿಸಲು ವಸ್ತ್ರ ದೊರೆಯಿ. ಇಲ್ಲೇ ನೀನು ವಾಸಿಸಬಹುದು. ರಾಹುಕಾಲ ಆರುವ ಮೊದಲೇ ಕೆಲವನ್ನು ಮಟಿಸಿಕೋ.

ಯಾರು ಈ ಸುದ್ದಿ ಕೀದರೆ ಧಿಕ ಸಂತಸಪಡು ವರು ಅವಳ ಆರುಂಧತಿ, ವ್ಯಾಶ ನಿದ್ದೆ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ನನ್ನನ್ನೇ ನೆನೆಯುತ್ತ ಮುಂಗಾಹುದು. ನನ್ನ ಸಹಪರ್ತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಸುದ್ದಿ ನೀಕ ರೀತಿಯ ಆನಿಸಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಹುಟ್ಟಿಸಲ್ಪುವು.

ಮೇಯರ್ ಅಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾದರು. ೧ ನಿಂತ ನಾನು ದೂರವಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಳಿಯಾಗುತ್ತಿರುವ ಆಕಾಶವನ್ನು ದಿಟ್ಟಿಸಿದೆ. ಬೇಗಗಳ ಹಾಗೆ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆತ್ತಲೇ ಇದುವ.

ಬಿದ್ದೆ ಇಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೂ ನಾನು ಕೆಲಸವಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾವವ ಬೀಜವನ್ನೂ ಉಳು ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅರವಿಸಿಯು ನಿ. ಗೆಳತಿಗಳು ಮಸಿಹಾಗವ ಹಾಗೆ ಬಾಗಬಿಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಚೀಟಗಳು ಸಕ್ಕಿದುರ. ಶೌಲಭಿಸಿದುವು

ಹಿಶ್ಚಾರಿಯು ಹೊಸ್ಪತ್ರೆಗೆ ನಾನು ಅಸೀಕ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೆಲವೆ ನೋಡಿದೆ ನಿಗೆ ಆಹಾರ. ವಸ್ತ್ರ. ವಸತಿಗಳು ದೊರೆತಿದೆಯಲ್ಲಾ? ಮತ್ತೇಕೆ ನಾನು ಯು ಬಿಸಬೇಕು? ಈ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯು ವಿಮರು ನ್ನ ಅಂತರಂಗದ ಕೋಣೆಗಳು ಸ್ಫೋಟಗೊಂಡುವು. ನಾನು ಪಶಿಸಾಗಿ ಗರ್ಜಿಸಿದೆ. ನಾನು ಮೇಯರ್‌ರನ್ನು ಕಾಣಬೇಕು. ವಿನಂತಿಸಬೇಕು. ಯಾಚಿಸಬೇಕು ಮಹಾ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಬಿತಕನದ ಮಗಲುಗಳನ್ನ ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಡಿ. ಆಧ್ಯ ಸಾಗಾಡುವ ಮಕ್ಕಿಗಳನ್ನು ಗುಂಪ್ಪುಗೂಡಿ ಮೀಯಾಚುವ ದನಕರುಗಳನ್ನೂ ನಾನು ಮಸಪಮೆಯು ನೋಡುತ್ತ ಬಿಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬುದಯಂರಿಗಿತಲೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಭಗಬಿಬ್ಬುವ ನನ್ನ ಆರುಂಧತಿಯ ಮುಖ ಕಂಡು ಬಿಗಳಿವ್ಯಾಮುವೆ? ನನ್ನ ಸಂಗಾತಿಗಳ ಮಸಿವ ಸಗೆಯನ್ನೂ ಕಳಾಹೀನ ಕಣ್ಣುಗಳನ್ನು ನಾನು ಮರೆ ಯುಬ್ಬಿರುವೆನೇ?

ಕಾಣಸ್ಕಿದ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಭಟನನ್ನು ನಾನು ವಿನಂತಿಸಿದೆ: ಮೇಯರ್‌ರನ್ನು ಕಾಣಲು ಒಂದು ಅವಕಾಶ ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಡಿ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಬ್ಬುನೂ ಒಬೇ ರಾಗವದ್ದೆ. ಒಬೆ ತಾಳವದ್ದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ: ಕಾಣಸಿಕ್ಕುವುದು ಕಪ್ಪ ಹಂದ ಹೊಗೆ ಬಟ್ಟೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ. ಬೇಕಾದ ಹಾಗೆ ಕಿರುಗಿದರೇಗೇ ಬೆಳೆ ಪಡೆಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯ. ಶಲೆಗಳನ್ನು ಶಿಷ್ಟಸಲ್ಪಿಸಿದ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಮೇಲೇರುತ್ತಿದೆಯೆ? ಆವರ ಒತ್ತತ್ತಿದಲ್ಲೇ ಆವರಿರುವರು.

ಈ ಉತ್ತರವನ್ನು ಗಿಲಾದಂತೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಲು ಯಾರೋ ಆವರಿಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಕರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವಂತೆ ನನಗೆನ್ನಿ ಸಿತು. ನನ್ನಲ್ಲಿ ರೋಷ ಉಕ್ಕಿತ್ತು. ಆವರತ್ತ ಆಸಭ್ಯ ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನಾಡಿ ಆವರನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟಗೆಬ್ಬಿಸಿ ಚಿತ್ತಜಿಂಸೆ ಪಡೆಯಲು ನಾನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಿದೆ. ಆ ನನ್ನ ಉದ್ಯುತ್ತತನದ ವಿಚಾರಣೆಯು ನೆಡವಲ್ಲಾದರೂ ಆ ಬಳಿಕ ಭಟರು ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಮೇಯರ್‌ರ ಮುಂದೆ ಹಾಜರುಪಡಿಸಿಯಾರು. ಆಗ ಮನ ಬಿಚ್ಚಿ ವಿಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ಹೇಳಲು ನನಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುತು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಹಂಚಿಕೆಯೂ ಫಲಕೂಡ ಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಉಸಿರಾಟಕ್ಕೂ ಅವಕಾಶಕೊಡದೆ ನಾನು ಆವರತ್ತ ನೋಡಿ ಆಸಹ್ಯದ್ಯೆಗಳ ಸುರಿದುಬಿಗೈದೆ. ಆವರಾಗ ಕಿವುಡರ ಹಾಗೆ ನಿಂತುಕೊಂಡರು. ಅಷ್ಟೆ ನನ್ನ ಸಾಲಿಗೆ ಬಳಿದಾಗ ಆವರು ಏನೂ ಸಂಭವಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬಂತೆ ಹೊರಟು ಹೋದರು. ನನ್ನ ಸಿಟ್ಟು ವಿಪರೀತಕ್ಕೇರಿತು. ನಾನು ಸರ್ವ ಬಲವನ್ನು ಬಳಸಿ ಅರ್ಚಾಟಿಸಿದೆ. ಚಿನ್ನಲಿಂದ ಕಬ್ಬುಹಾಕಲಾದ ಪೊರಕೆಯನ್ನೂ ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಯ ಬಟ್ಟಲನ್ನೂ ಎಸೆದೆ ಆಂಗಳ್ಳಕ್ಕೆ ಎಸೆದೆ. ನಾನು ನನ್ನ ಕೋಣೆಗೆ ಬಂದು ಬಿದ್ದುಕೊಂಡು ವಿಮರು ಬಿಟ್ಟೆ.

ನನಗೇಂದೂ ಈ ಆರಮನೆಯಿಂದ ಪಾರಾಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗದೆಂಬ ಆನಿಸಿಕೆಯು ಕೆರೆಯಾಬ್ಬುರಿತ್ತು. ಮೇಯರ್‌ರನ್ನು ಹೇಗಾದರೂ ಕಂಡೇ ತೀರಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಹುಲ್ಲು ಕಡ್ಡಿಯನ್ನೇ ಬಳಿಪಿಡಿಕೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಮೈ, ಮನಗಳೆರಡೂ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ದಣಿದಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ನನಗೆ ಮಂಪರು ಕವಿಯಿತು.

ಮರುದಿನ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳು ಕೆಲವು ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡುವ. ತಡಮಾಡಿ ಬೆಳಗು ಆಹಾರ ಕೊಡಲಾಯಿತು. ಆದರ ಗುಣವಟ್ಟವೂ ಇಳಿದಿತ್ತು. ಬೆಳ್ಳಂಬಬ್ಬೆಲಿದ್ದದ್ದು ತಾಪವ ಬಿಟ್ಟಲಾಗಿ ಮಾರ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತ್ತು. ಚಿನ್ನಲಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ಪೊರಕೆಗೆ ಬದಲಾಗಿ ಒಂದು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಪೊರಕೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡಲಾಯಿತು ನನ್ನ ಕೆಲಸವ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಕುಗ್ಗಿಸಲಾದ ಒಂದು ಆಜ್ಞಾ ಪತ್ರ ಕೂಡ ದೊರೆಯಿತು. ನಾನು ಹೂದೋಟಕ್ಕೆ

ಮೂರನೇ ಪುಟ ನೋಡಿ



ಸಂಜೆ– ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ (ಗೀತ)

ಬಂದು ಬಿಡುವೆನು. ಮುತ್ತು ಕೊಡುವೆನು:
ಸಂಜೆಗರಳಿದೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ.
ಕರವ ಮುಗಿವೆನು ಶಿರವ ಬಗ್ಗಿಸಿ:
ಚೆಲುವ ಕಾಮನ ಬಿಲ್ಲಿಗೆ.

ನಿನ್ನ ಕಾಣಲು ದಾರಿಯಂಚಿನ
ಸಂಜೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಅರಳಿದೆ:
ತನ್ನ ಹಾಡಿಗೆ ತಾನೆ ಸೊಕ್ಕಿದ
ಏಲೆಯ ಮರೆಯಲಿ ಕೋಗಿಲೆ.

ನೀನು ಒಲವಿನ ಹಾಡು: ಒಲವಿಗೆ
ಸೋಲದಿದೆಯನು ಅರಿಯೆನು:
ನೀಲಿ ತಾರೆಗೆ ನಗುವ ಮುಗಿಲಿ
ನಾನು ಒಲವನು ಕಂಡೆನು.

ಬೆಟ್ಟದಂಚಿಗೆ ಸರಿವ ಮೂಲಿ
ಬಿಳಿಯ ಹಸುಗಳ ಕಂಡೆನು:
ತುಂಬಿಕೊಂಡೆನು ನನ್ನ ಕವಿಯಲಿ
ಕೊರಳ ಗೆಜ್ಜೆಯ ದನಿಯನು.

ನಿನ್ನ ಕಿಟಕಿಯ ಹಿಂದೆ ನೀನಿರು:
ಬಂದು ಬಿಡುವೆನು ಅಲ್ಲಿಗೆ.
ನನ್ನ ಬೊಗಸೆಯ ತುಂಬ ತರುವೆನು
ಒಲವ ಸಂಜೆಯ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ.

–ಕೆ.ಎಸ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಸ್ವಾಮಿ





ಇದು ಒಗೆಯುತ್ತದೆ, ತೊಳೆಯುತ್ತದೆ,
ಒಣಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ... ನನ್ನ ಹಗಲು
ಮೇರಿಂದ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಭಾರವನ್ನೇ ಇಳಿಸಿದಂತಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ವಸುಂಧರಾ
ಕಾರ್ಡಿಯೋಲಜಿಸ್ಟ್



ಕೆಲಸದವಳ ಕಿರಿಕಿ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಇದಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ರೆ ಜೀವನಾ
ಶಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತು ಅಂತನಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿದ್ಯಾ ಕೆನ
ಗೃಹಿಣಿ

ಇರಲಿ, ಡೆನಿಮ್ ಇರಲಿ.
ಸೈ ಬೆಡ್ ಶೀಟ್ ಕೂಡ...
ಯ್ಸೂ ಇದು ಒಗೆಯುತ್ತದೆ.
ಬಾ ಸ್ವಚ್ಛಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಮಂಜಿಕಾ ದಲ್ಲಿ
ಗೃಹಿಣಿ



6,00,000ಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸ್ತ್ರೀಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್‌ಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹೇಳಲು ಕಾತುರರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ 5 ಮಂದಿ ಹೀಗನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ.

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲೇ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಜನಪ್ರಿಯ. ಈ ಆಜೇಯ ಅಗ್ರಣಯನ್ನು ಈಗಾಗಲೇ 6,00,000ಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಜನ ಮನೆಗೊಯ್ದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್ ಮಾಡಲ್‌ನಲ್ಲೂ ವಿಶ್ವದಲ್ಲೇ ಮುಂದುವರಿದಿರುವ ಜಪಾನಿನ ಫಲ್ಸೇಟರ್ ತಂತ್ರವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ಅಡಕಗೊಂಡಿದೆ.

V-NA-811 ಟಚ್ಡೋ ಕ್ಲೀನ್, ಇದು ಭಾರತದ ಸರ್ವ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಕಂಪ್ಯೂಟರ್ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಿತ, ಪ್ರೋಗ್ರಾಮ್ ಮಾಡಬಹುದಾದ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಆಟೊಮೆಟಿಕ್ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್. ಸಂಗಡ ಫದರ್ ಟಚ್ ಕಂಟ್ರೋಲ್‌ಗಳು.

V-NA-400T ಭಾರತದ ಅತಿ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಸಮಿ-ಆಟೊಮೆಟಿಕ್ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್. ಪ್ರತಿ ಬಾರಿ ಇದು 22 ಬಟ್ಟೆಗಳನ್ನು ಒಗೆಯಬಲ್ಲದು. 3 ವಿಧದ ಒಗೆಯುವ ಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳ ಆಯ್ಕೆ ಸಿಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾದ ವಾಟರ್ ಸಿರ್ಕ್ಯುಲೇಟರ್ ಮತ್ತು ಬಝರ್, ಒಗೆಯುವಿಕೆ ಮುಗಿದಾಕ್ಷಣ ನಿಮಗೆ ಸೂಚನೆ ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ.

V-250DX ಸುಪರ್-ವಾಶ್, ಇದು ನಿಮಗೆ ಸಿಗಬಹುದಾದ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಶಕ್ತಿಶಾಲಿ 3 ಕೆಜಿ ಸೆಮಿ-ಆಟೊಮೆಟಿಕ್ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಝರ್ ಇದೆ. ಇಲಿಗಿಂದ ಸಣ್ಣ ಶಾಲಿ ಇದೆ ಮತ್ತು ಆತ್ಯಾಶ್ಚ ಒಯ್ಯಲು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಲು ಗಾಲಿಗಳೂ ಇವೆ.

V-NA-200T ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಅಚ್ಚುಕಟ್ಟಾದ ಭಾರತದ ಅತಿ ಜನಪ್ರಿಯ ಮಾಡೆಲ್. ಸಣ್ಣ ಪರಿವಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಇದುವೇ ಸೂಕ್ತ. ಪ್ರತಿ ಬಾರಿ 12 ಬಟ್ಟೆಗಳನ್ನು ಒಗೆಯಬಹುದು.

ಮತ್ತು *V-200E* ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಮಿತವ್ಯಯಕಾರಿ 3 ' ಸಮಿ-ಆಟೊಮೆಟಿಕ್ ಮಶೀನ್. ನಿಮಿಷ ಮಾತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಗೆಯುವುದು, ತೊಳೆಯುವುದು, ಒಣಗಿಸುವುದು.ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡಿ ಮುಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪ್ರತಿ ದಿನವೂ 1000ಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮಂದಿ ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನನ್ನು ಮನೆಗೊಯ್ಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನೀವೂ ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬರಾಗಿ. ಆದರ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನೀವು ಕೂ ಏನನ್ನಾದರೂ ಹೇಳಲು ಬಯಸುವುದೇ ವಿಂಡಿತ.



V-NA-400T V-200E V-NA-811 V-250 DX V-NA-200T

ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್

ಸರ್ವರ ಅಗ್ರೇಸರ ನಿಮ್ಮ ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್

ನಿಮ್ಮ ಹತ್ತಿರದ ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಮಾಹಿತಿ ಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಈ ಕೂಪನ್ನನ್ನು ಕತ್ತರಿಸಿ, ಕೆಳಗೆ ನೀಡಲಾದ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ತುಂಬಿ (ಬಾಗ್ಲಿಷ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ) ಟಪ್ಪಾ ಲೆಟರ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ವಿಳಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳಿಸಿ:
ವಿಡಿಯೋಕೋನ್ ಇಂಜಿನಿಯರ್ಸ್ ಪ್ರೈವೇಟ್ ಲಿಮಿಟೆಡ್,
ವಾಶಿಂಗ್ ಮಶೀನ್ ಡಿವಿಜನ್,
ಮಿತ್ತಲ್ ಕೋರ್ಟ್, ಎ-ವಿಂಗ್, ನೆಹರೂ ಪಾರ್ಮಂಟ್,
ಮುಂಬೈ-400 07

VIL/94 KAN

Name
Address
Occupation

ದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ಈ ಕಾವ್ಯ ಮೂಲ ರಾಮಾಯಣ ದಿಂದ ಹಾಗೂ ಕುವೆಂಪು ಅವರ 'ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಾಯಣ ದರ್ಶನ'ದಿಂದ ಎಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ಹೇಗೆ ಭಿನ್ನವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ತೋರಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದೆ. 'ರಾಮಾಯಣ ಒಂದು ಮತ ಗ್ರಂಥ ಎಂಬ ನಂಬಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಸುಳ್ಳು ಮಾಡಿ, ಅದ್ಯತ ಪವಾಡಗಳನ್ನು ತ್ಯಜಿಸಿ, ಪಾತ್ರ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿವೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ವಾಸ್ತವ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿಸಿರುವುದ ರಿಂದ. ಅವತಾರವಾದವನ್ನು ತಳ್ಳಿಹಾಕಿರುವುದರಿಂದ 'ಶ್ರೀರಾಮ ಪಟ್ಟಾಭಿಷೇಕ' ಕಾವ್ಯ ಒಂದು ಉತ್ತಮ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನ ಕಲಾಕೃತಿಯಾಗಿ ಕಂಡು ಬರುತ್ತಿದೆ

'ಮಿತವಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿಂತನೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು, 'ಕಾಲ'– ಲೇಖಕರ ಹಲವುಳಿ ಆಸಕ್ತಿಗಳು ಒಂದು ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ನುಡಿದ ಪ್ರಬಂಧ. ಬೆಗೂರನ್ನು ಕುರಿತ ಪ್ರಬಂಧ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ, ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ನೋಟ, ಒಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಬರೆಯ ಹೀಗೆ ಸನ್ನಗುಡ್ಡಯ್ಯನವರ ಪ್ರಬಂಧ ಗಳು ಯುತರ ಗದ್ಯ ಬರವಣಿಗೆಯ ಕೆಲವು ವೈವಿಧ್ಯ ಮಾದರಿಗಳನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸು ಸ್ವಾರಸ್ಯ ಪೂರ್ಣಗೆ ಕಾರಣವಾಗುತ್ತವೆ.

-ಟಿ. ಪಿ. ಅಶೋಕ

ಪೋಲಿಸುತ್ತಿನ ಪಡಕ್ಷರಯ್ಯನವರೆಲ್ಲ ಗುರುಗಳು ಗೌಡರಲ್ಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡ ಮತ್ತು ತೆಲುಗು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಾಸಕ್ತಿಯ ಬೀಜಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿತ್ತಿದರು. ತಮ್ಮ 10ನೇ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಗೌಡರು ಜೋಳದರಾಶಿ ಸಮೀಪದ ಬೀಳ್ಗ ಗರ್ಭಯ್ಯಲ್ಲಿ 'ರಾಮಾಯಣ' ನಾಟಕ ನೋಡಿದರು. ಈ ನಾಟಕ ನನ್ನ ಮೇಲೆ ಆದ್ಭುತವಾದ ಪರಿಣಾಮವನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಿತು. ಆಸಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಇಷ್ಟಿಸಿತು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಗೌಡರು ಬಣ್ಣ ಹಚ್ಚಿ ರಂಗದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದು ತಮ್ಮ 10ನೇ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವಾಗ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ತಮ್ಮ 10ನೇ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಟೋಪಿನ್ ಹಾಕಿ, ಭಾರೀ ಆರಂಭಿಸಿದ ನಂತರವೇ ಅವರು ಆಡಿದ ನಾಟಕಗಳೆಂದರೆ ಗರುಡ ಗರ್ವಭಂಗ,ಶಿವಜಲಂಧರ,ರಾಜ್ಞಿ ಚಿಂದ್ರ, ಭಕ್ತಮಾರ್ಕಾಡೇಯ, ಕನಕದಾಸ, ಶಾಪ ವಿಮೋಚನೆ. ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಪುರುಷ ಬಸವೇಶ್ವರ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಮದಾಸ (ತೆಲುಗು) ಗೌಡರಿಗೆ ಮೆಚ್ಚಿಗೆಯಾದ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳೆಂದರೆ ನಾರದ, ಕೃಷ್ಣ , ಕನಕದಾಸ ಮತ್ತು ಬಸವೇಶ್ವರ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳು ದೊಡ್ಡ ನಗೌಡರು ರಚಿಸಿದ ನಾಟಕಗಳೆಂದರೆ ಕನಕದಾಸ, ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಪುರುಷ ಬಸವೇಶ್ವರ, ಬಯಲ ಗಳಿಕೆ, ಸಾಯದವನ ಸಮಾಧಿ, ಅಭಯ, ನೋಡೋರ ನಾಟಕ,

ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ ಹಿರಿಯ ಪೋಲಿಗೆಯ ಸಮೀಪ ಸಮ್ಮೇಳನದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷತೆಯನ್ನೂ ಗೌಡರು ವಹಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ಕಲ್ಬುರ್ಗಿ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಗೌರವ ಡಾಕ್ಟರೇಟ್ ನೀಡಿ ಗೌರವಿಸಿತ್ತು.

ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಗೌಡರ ಮನೆತನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ದೊಡ್ಡನ ಗೌಡರು ಸಹಜವಾಗಿ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಯಜಮಾನನಂತೆ ವರ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೇ ವಿನಃ ಶಾವೆಯೊಬ್ಬ ದೊಡ್ಡ ರಂಗಭೂಮಿ ಕಲಾವಿದನೆಂದು ಆಹಂಕಾರದಿಂದ ಬೀಗುತ್ತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.

ಹುಟ್ಟಿದೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಳಿತು ಸುತ್ತಲಿನ ಜನರ ಕಷ್ಟ ಸುಖ

ಹರಿಯಬ್ಬೆ ಪ್ರೇಮಕುಮಾರ್

ಚಿತ್ರಕೃಪೆ: ಗುರುಪ್ರಸಾದ ರಾವ್

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್–ದೇಶೀ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗೆ ಮಾರಕ

ಒಂದನೇ ಪುಟದಿಂದ

ಅಪರಾಧ ಎನ್ನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವ. ಅದರೆ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಕಾರ್ಯವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಗೆ ಒಳಗಾದಾಗ, ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಹೇಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅದರ ಸಾಧಕ ಬಾಧಕಗಳೇನು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಬಹುದು ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ. ಡಂಕೆಲ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವಕ್ಕೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ನೀಡಿರುವ ನಮ್ಮಂತಹ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲವೂ ಮುಂದಿನ ಏಳೆಂಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ 2003ರ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ತಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗಳನ್ನು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮವಾಗಿ ಪರಿಷರ್ತಿಸುವುದು ಅಗತ್ಯ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಮತ್ತು ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ವಿಧಾನ ಎರಡನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಂಡ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಆದು Process product ರೀತಿಯ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಆಗಿದೆ. ಎಲ್ಲ ರೀತಿಯ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಮಿತಿ ಏಕಪ್ರಕಾರವಾಗಿ 20 ವರ್ಷಗಳು. ಆಲ್ಲದೆ, ಹಿಂದಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗಳಂತೆ ಆದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ಆಯಾ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸೀಮಿತವಾಗಿರದೇ ಆದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ, ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ. ಆಮೆರಿಕಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಉದ್ಯಮಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಪಡೆದುಕೊಂಡರೆ, ಆದು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೂ ಇತರ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾನೂನು ರೀತ್ಯಾ ಸಿಂಧುವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟತೆಯೆಂದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ದಾರ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕವಾಗಿ. ಪ್ರಪಂಚದ ಯಾವ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇಕಾದರೂ ತನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಚಲಾಯಿಸಬಹುದು. ಆಲ್ಲದೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಚಲಾಯಿಸದೆ ಇರುವ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವೂ ಆವನಿಗೆ ಉಂಟು ಅಂದರೆ ಒಂದು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಪಾರಸುದಾರ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇಕಾದರೂ ತನ್ನ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಚಲಾಯಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಯಾವ ಆಡ್ಡಿಯೂ ಇಲ್ಲ.

ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಅಂಶವೆಂದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಲದ ಮಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೊಗಾಗ ಬೇಕಾದರೂ. ಆದರೆ ತಡಮಾಡಿ ಕೂಡ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ತಯಾರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಬಹುದು ಆಲ್ಲದೆ ಸುಮ್ಮನೆಯೂ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಪಡೆದುಕೊಂಡ ಕಂಪನಿ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಹಕ್ಕನ್ನು ಚಲಾಯಿಸಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸುವ ಆಗತ್ಯವೇನೂ ಇರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೇರೆ ಯಾವ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇಕಾದರೂ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ತಯಾರಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿಸಬಹುದು. ಉತ್ಪಾದನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯಾರಂಭವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಲೇಬೇಕೆಂಬ ನಿರ್ಬಂಧವೂ ಇರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಒಟ್ಟಿ ರೀತಿಯ ಈ ವಿನಾಯಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ 27 ಮತ್ತು 28ನೆ ಕಲಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು.

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ವಿಷಯವನ್ನೂ ಗಮನಿಸಿ, ವಿಶೇಷಿಸುವುದು ಆಗತ್ಯ. ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯನ್ನು ಸೀಮಿತಗೊಳಿಸಿ ಆನೇಕ ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ಹೊರತು ಪಡಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಕಾಂಇವುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಂಡಂತೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಆನೇಕ ಆಭ್ಯಾ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ತನ್ನಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ಒಳಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಜೈವಿಕ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ, ತಳಿಜ್ಞಾನ, ಜೀನ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಇಂಬ್ರೀಡಿಂಗ್ ಆಂತೆಯೇ ಬೀಜ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಣ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ. ಸಸ್ಯಗಳ ಹಾಗೂ ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ವಿಪಿಧಾಂಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ತಜ್ಞತೆ ಇವೆಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಕಾಂ ತನ್ನ ಕಾರ್ಯ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಗೆ ಒಳಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಹೀಗಿ, ಈ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕವೂ, ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಸರ್ವಾಪಿಯೂ ಆಗಿರುವುದು ಕಂಡು ಬರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪದ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ. 2003ರ ನಂತರ ಇ ಆನೇಕ ದೇಶಗಳಂತೆ, ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶವೂ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಗೆ ಒಳಗಾದಾಗ. ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳ ಬೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್‌ನ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಪಾಮ ವಿನಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ವಿಚಾರ ಮಾಡುವ ಮೊದಲು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಈ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ನಂತರದ ಕದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಧನೆಗಳು ಏನು ಮತ್ತು ಈ ಶ್ರೆದಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಶ ಯಾವ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಗಸಿಸುವುದು ಅವಶ್ಯ.

ಸ್ವದೇಶಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ

ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯಪೂರ್ವ ಅಂದರೆ, ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆ ಆದಲ್ಲಿ. ಸಿ.ವಿ.ರಾಮನ್ ಅವರಂತಹ ಆಪವಾದ ಇಪದ ಹಲಕೆಲವು ಉತ್ಕೃಮ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಸಧನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಹರವು ಮತ್ತು ಗುಣಮಟ್ಟದ ಧೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಗತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಧನೆ ಆಶ್ಚೇನೂ ಚ್ಚೆನ್ನದಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನಾನಾ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿದ್ದವು. ದಂದಿಂದಾಗಿ, ಸ್ವದೇಶಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಬೆಳೆಯಲು ಸಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯಾನಂತರ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಚಹಳಷ್ಟು ಉತ್ತಮಗೊಂಡು ಇಂದು ವಿವಿಧ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 'ಸ್ವದೇಶಿ' ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಫಲಪ್ರದವಾಗಿ ಮುನ್ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಕಾಣುತ್ತೇವೆ.

ದೇಶದ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಗತಿಗೆ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ಮತ್ತು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಆತ್ಯಪಶ್ಯಕ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ನಂಗಡಿಸಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಂಸ್ಕರು ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯಾನಂತರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಗಾಗಿ ಆನೇಕ ಸರ್ಮಿಸ್ಥ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸಿ, ಕಾರ್ಯಗತಗೊಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಒಂದು ದಿಟ್ಟ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಎಂದರೆ 1958 ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕಾರ್ಯಗತಗೊಳಿಸಿದ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ಮತ್ತು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಹೊಸ ನೀತಿ. ಈ ಹೊಸ ನೀತಿಯ ಕೇಂದ್ರ ಉದ್ದೇಶ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ಮತ್ತು ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಆದಷ್ಟು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯನ್ನು ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಮಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಯಂಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣತೆಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸುವುದೇ ಆಗಿತ್ತು.

ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ, ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಪರಾವಲಂಬನೆಯನ್ನು 'ಕಡಿಮೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಉತ್ತೇಜಿಸುವ ಸಲುವಾಗಿ ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಆಮದಿನ್ನು ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಹತೋಟಿಗೆ ಒಳಪಡಿಸಿ, ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ಆದರ ಪ್ರಮಾಣವನ್ನು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳ ಲಾಯಿತು.

ಸ್ವಾಲಂಬನೆ

ದೇಶಿಯ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ತ್ವರಿತಗತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದೆ ಮುಂದೆ ಸಾಗಲು ಆದಕ್ಕೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಾಶಸ್ತ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹ ಕೊಡಲಾಯಿತು. ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ– ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನಗಳ ವಿವಿಧ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನು ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಿತ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪಡಿಸುವ ಸಲುವಾಗಿ BARC, AEC, ISRO ICAR ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಹತ್ತಾರು ಕೇಂದ್ರೀಯ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ನಿರ್ವಹಣಾ ಘಟಕಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದ್ದೆ ಆಲ್ಲದೇ ವಿವಿಧ ರೀತಿಯ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳಿಗಾಗಿಯೆ 50ಕ್ಕೂ ಏೀರಿದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲಾಯಿತು. ಕೃಷಿ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಮತ್ತು ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಾಗಿಯೆ ICAR - Indian Council for Agricultural Research ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲಾಯಿತು. ಆಲ್ಲದೆ ಹಲವಾರು ಕೃಷಿ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲಾಯಿತು. ಈ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳು ಆಲ್ಲದೆ, ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನು ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಪಡಿಸುವ ಸಲುವಾಗಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ನೆರವು ಮತ್ತು ಉತ್ತೇಜನ ನೀಡಲಾಯಿತು. ಹೀಗೆ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಕೈಗೊಂಡ ಹತ್ತು ಹಲವಾರು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಗಳ ಫಲವಾಗಿ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ– ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಶ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಗತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದೆ ಎನ್ನಬಹುದು. ಮುಂದುವರಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೋಲಿಸಿದಾಗ ಕೆಲವು ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಇನ್ನೂ ಹಿಂದಿದ್ದೇವೆ ಎಂಬ ಮಾತು ನಿಜವಾದರೂ, ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ಮುಂದುವರಿದಿದೆ ಎನ್ನುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ಹತ್ತಾರು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಸಾಧಿಸಿರುವ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯ ನಿದರ್ಶನವಾಗಿ. ನಮ್ಮ ಕೆಲವು ಸಾಧನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವರಿಸಬಹುದು: ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಸಾಧಿಸಿರುವ 'ಹಸಿರು ಕ್ರಾಂತಿ' (Green Revelution) ಕ್ಷೀರೋತ್ಪನ್ನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಧಿಸಿರುವ 'ಬಿಳಿ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿ' (White Revelution) ಬೈಜಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಮತ್ತು ಬೈಜಿಕ ವಿದ್ಯುದುತ್ಪಾದನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಧನೆ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ONGC ಮತ್ತು ISRO ಘಟಕಗಳ ಉಪಗ್ರಹ ಸಾಧನೆ– ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯ ಉತ್ತಮ ನಿದರ್ಶನಗಳು. ಔಷಧಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಮತ್ತು ಆವುಗಳ ತಯಾರಿಕೆ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಧನೆ ಮಹತ್ವದ್ದೇ ಆಗಿದೆ.

ನಾವು ಈ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಯನ್ನು ಎಷ್ಟರ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸಾಧಿಸ್ದೇವೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಸೂಚ್ಯಂಕವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಉದಾಪಾರಿಸಬಹುದು. ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಗತವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಹಿಂದೆ 550 ಇದ್ದು, ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ಆದು 358ಕ್ಕೆ ಇಳಿದಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ದಿಶೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಆಹಿತಕರವಾದ ಇತ್ಯೀಚಿನ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಎಂದರೆ 1986 ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜೀವ್ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ ಆಮದು ಉದಾದೀಕರಣ ನೀತಿ. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬನೆಗೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಧಕ್ಕೆ ಉಂಟಾಗಿದೆ: ಇದರ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ತಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಆತಂಕಕಾರಿ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ

ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಒಪ್ಪಂದ ಜಾರಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿ ಬದಲಾಗಬಹುದು. ಮತ್ತು ಇದರಿಂದ ಆಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಬಹುದಾದ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳೇನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸೋಣ. ಈಗಾಗಲೆ ತಿಳಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಒಪ್ಪಂದದ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾದ TRIPS ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯ ಅನ್ವಯ ಸಾರ್ವತ್ರಿಕ. ಆದರೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಯಾವುದಾದರೊಂದು ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾನ್ಯತೆ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದರೆ, ಆದು ಎಲ್ಲ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಮಾನ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಊರ್ಜಿತ. ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ. ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್‌ದಾರನಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಮತ್ತು ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಎರಡನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಂಡಂತೆ ಏಚ್ಚಾರೆ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವನ್ನು ನೀಡುತ್ತದೆ. ವಿವಿಧ ಗ್ಯಾಟ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗಳಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ಏಚ್ಚಾರೆ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿದಾಗ ಬಹುಶಃ ಯಾವುದೇ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಯಾಗಲಿ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನವಾಗಲಿ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ವಿನಾಯಿತಿ ಪಡೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೊರಗಿರುವುದು ಆಸಂಭವ. ಒಂದಲ್ಲ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿಧವಾದ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಗೆ ಒಳಗಾಗುವ ಸಂಭವವೇ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಈ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನೋಡಿದಾಗ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಲಿ ಚಾಲ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆ ತೀವ್ರ ರೀತಿ ಮಾರ್ಪಾಡಾಗುವುದು ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಆಲ್ಲದೆ ನಾವು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಟೆಂಟ್ ಕಾಯಿದೆಯಿಂದ ಹೊರತು ಪಡಿಸಿರುವ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಮತ್ತು ಉತ್ಪನ್ನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಆದೇ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೆ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಆತಂಕಕಾರಿ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಉದ್ಭವಿಸುವ ಸಾಧ್ಯತೆ ಇದ್ದೇ ಇದೆ. ಈ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಯಾರೂ ಆಲ್ಲಗಳೆಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಭವಿಸಬಹುದಾದ ಪರಿಣಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸೋಣ. ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳ ಫಲಪ್ರದವಾಗಿ ಯಶಸ್ವನ್ನು ಗಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ 'ಹಸಿರು ಕ್ರಾಂತಿ' ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳೋಣ. ನಮ್

SPECIAL REPORT

Wired for the future

Sumit Chakraberty taps the network to listen to the echoes of the new telecom policy which is generating great expectations

"THE new electronics interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village," wrote Marshall McLuhan, in *The Medium is the Message*, in 1967.

Sadly, it seems our planners did not get the message. C-DoT director K. N. Gupta harks back to a piquant moment during a conference he was attending in Jordan in 1980. A delegate from another country showed him a news item on India's new manufacturing facility in Rae Bareily to produce Stowger exchanges.

These obsolete relics of the forties had given way to crossbar technology in the sixties itself. In the eighties, the world had already turned to electronic switching, first to the analogue kind and then to the digitalised systems that are driving the telecommunications revolution. In fact, in 1980 it was time to start thinking of replacing the Stowgers. Instead, somebody had decided to put up a Stowger manufacturing unit! Such was the ad hocism that characterised telecom planning until recently.

Part of the trouble was that, many considered telecommunications an elite service. G. T. Narayan, former adviser to the telecom commission, recalls the mortification of trying to reason with a top bureaucrat who was insisting, "A man can live without a telephone, but can he survive without drinking water?"

It was this sort of simplistic thinking that set the country back by years. The enormous support that an efficient telecom infrastructure provides to all sectors of the economy, and the resultant gains in productivity, are often overlooked.

A recent study of 119 villages attached to 32 C-DoT RAXs, conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research estimates a Rs 70,000 net economic benefit accruing from each rural telecom line. For instance, the flow of information from distant markets might permit new cropping patterns which in turn would generate higher incomes. Or, access to information might lead to a reduction of inventories which would mean higher profits.

The real revolution, then, is in information. Apart from the basic telephone services, technocrats and economists are excited about the options being thrown up by data transmission and exchange. "Once you create networks, possibilities emerge which you had not thought of earlier," says Prof N. J. Rao, who heads the centre for electronics design at the Indian Institute of Science.

Information technology was a child of telecommunications and computers. And now the horizons are expanding again as television is integrated into the system as well, forming a compatible triangle.

The possibilities, as Prof Rao says, are endless. To take a somewhat esoteric example, there is something called a global positioning system. Co-ordinated by three satellites, it can fix the position of a user within a few metres. You can use your wireless phone to locate yourself on a map. Or, if you like, you can switch on your geyser with a cellular phone. Such systems are already being developed in India.

At the heart of all this is, of course, the semiconductor chip. And engineers are transcending the frontiers of physics to pack more and more into an integrated circuit.

At a more mundane level, corporate communication networks are transforming the way we do business. Modern companies can hardly be economically viable any longer without such networking.

So, if funds are pumped into telecom, that would in turn attract more capital, because global companies are reluctant to commit their investments to areas not served by efficient telecom networks. It is this, more than anything else, that is loosening the tight political control that has traditionally been maintained over this 'core sector'.

Globalising the economy, to avoid isolation and consequent stagnation, involves taking a ride on the information superhighway that will gird the earth. Not doing so would severely limit the investments in the economy and thus the options for growth and ultimately poverty removal.

The Prime Minister indicated as much in Washington when he expressed special interest in the US vice-president Al Gore's pet project: the under-sea fibre-optic lines that will take us around the world at the speed of light. In fact, one of the primary motivating factors for the VSNL (Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited) to raise funds through a Euro-issue is to be able to participate in the multinational fibre-optic cable system.

Take electronic mail, or E mail, which is rapidly becoming commonplace. Scientists here routinely log into computer systems and databases in the US. A person can exchange data and messages back and forth with somebody sitting half-way across the world. Now such global networks will become a regular feature of business too.

As they say, the world has shrunk. "In the sixties," reminisces Ramanujam, "who could have imagined McLuhan's image would turn into reality in so short a time-span?" And to think the ubiquitous telephone would hold the key to the global village! Things were simple in those days: a government monopoly wiring up the country at its own leisurely pace, stringing some lines together and ensconcing those 'black beauties' in homes and offices. These days nothing remains the same for even a few months, with voice, text and video all clamouring for space on the telecom lines. And even the anachronistic black instruments have made way to phones of all shapes and colours.

Telephone density No. of lines per 100 people		Manpower allocation Country/region	Phone / Worker
World average	10.5	India	14
India	0.8	Sri Lanka	40
China	1.7	USA	60-80
Pakistan	2	Europe	200-250
Thailand	6	Japan	300

TOI Graphic



For Ramanujam, it has meant constantly having to reorient himself, unlearning the Stowger and then the Crossbar to move on to electronics. "And now I suppose I'm untrainable," smiles the Bangalore Telecom general manager ruefully, at the thought of adapting to six state-of-the-art foreign systems that have recently been validated and approved, coming from Ericsson, Alcatel, AT&T, Siemens, GPD and Fujitsu, not to mention C-DoT's indigenous 30,000-line exchange which is to have its first trial in Bangalore shortly.

Keeping all this in mind, Ramanujam has been laying emphasis on training in his department. Tuning into borrowed technology is far more difficult than modifying systems that you develop on your own, he points out. At the same time, he has great faith in the capacity of Indian software engineers, who are "the best in the world", to assimilate new technologies.

There seems little choice but to open up the telecom sector to to clear the enormous demand. The now revised goal is to provide a telephone on demand by 1997, besides the other value-added services made possible by a combination of digital switching and fibre optic transmission.

The earlier target of raising the number of lines to 20 million by the year 2000 (which would still have left a waiting list of two years) was thrown out impatiently by the telecom commission chairman, Nagarajan Vittal, who is fed up with what he describes as our slow, homoeopathic ways of expansion.

It appears pathetic that we have just 7 million lines for a population of 900 million, giving a tele-density of 0.8 for every 100 Indians, when the world average is 10.5, and even Pakistan with 2 and China with 1.7, are way ahead of us.

In our cities, people have to wait five to six years to get connected. In Bangalore, the waiting list stretches to nearly 1,00,000. Last year, 26,000 new lines were provided. Ramanujam hopes to be able to give 50,000 lines this year, which will cut the waiting period to two years.

Recently the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL) crossed the million-line mark. Today, in 43 exchanges out of the MTNL's 92, a phone can be got within a month on the 'Own Your Telephone' scheme, that is, on payment of a deposit of Rs 15,000 instead of the regular Rs 3000 (the deposit is deducted from the rental over a 20-year period).

Although the situation is now expected to improve, there are many hurdles to cross before the new goals can be reached.

Not the least of the hurdles is the resistance from the nearly 5,00,000 telecom workers who have time and again gone on strike paralysing the country's communications network at considerable cost to the economy. But hard decisions can no longer be put off.

As for the private companies, the worrisome aspect is the regulatory mechanism. In the experience of other countries which have gone through similar processes, the most contentious issue has invariably been the rules for sharing the cake.

K. P. Luke Vydhian, C-DoT consultant, says that even a cursory glance shows that the ground rules for the entry of private investors in basic services have yet to be spelt out. In an immediate reaction, Jerry Stockbridge, Asia-Pacific director of British Telecom, said, "We believe the separation of the regulatory and operational functions of DoT is vital if the full benefit of the new policy is to be felt."

Unless the regulation of tariffs is made transparent, how will the MNCs be assured of profitability? And in that case, will the flow of funds soar as high as the consumers' hopes?

I. N. Mallikarjuna, vice-president of IESL which is into satellite communication, fears that if DoT continues to dictate the tariffs the new dispensation it may turn off potential investors.

The manufacture of telecom equipment has already been liberalised: 51 per cent foreign equity gets automatic approval and 100 per cent foreign ownership allowed on a case by case basis. It is in service operation and regulation that the problems are unresolved.

M. R. Pai, the well-known Bombay based consumer activist points out that the MTNL despite its status as a corporation controls the lines in Delhi and Bombay (which make up about a quarter of the national network, for DoT by proxy. The autonomy of the VSNL has similarly been reduced to a farce, thus affecting the interests of the consumer.

Actually, the writing has been on the wall for DoT for a long time. The breaking down of AT&T is well documented. Mammoth monoliths are unable to fulfill the aim of providing a variety of telecom services quickly. The West started dismantling its monopolies when it realised that telephone densities were increasing mainly in areas where companies were allowed to function independently. And the bottomline is, telephone densities are irretrievably tied to GDP. ■

(With inputs from Alladi Jayasri in Bangalore and Shameem Akthar in Bombay)

Dial DoT for disaster

The telecom revolution will remain a pipe-dream as long as DoT is allowed to get away with its archaic management practices, writes N. Suresh

LET millions more telephones ring across the country is the unstated fourteenth point in the new telecom policy (NTP) made public last week. But will it really happen in the near future? The answer to this $8-billion (Rs 24,000 crore) question is entwined with a series of complex issues — as complicated as the vast telecom network that has to click all the time to provide instant connections.

Things do look rosy on the surface. Global telecom giants have, after all, been knocking at India's doors for some time now. And the offers add up to $3 billion (Rs 9,000 crore) at the latest count. The telecom dream-sellers, Sukh Ram and Nagarajan Vittal, have indeed promised the moon — telephones on demand by 1997 — to the much-harried consumer who has long been waiting to hear the sweet ring of a "working" telephone.

It would be easy to make the dream come true provided the arrogant, power-hungry, unresponsive, monolithic Department of Telecommunications (DoT) is demolished. The NTP is strangely silent on this score. Till DoT is reined in, not much can change. This is the harsh reality.

Aren't we allowing competition by permitting private companies to offer basic services, a die-hard DoT supporter might ask. But what is this competition? At the most, it may be a handful of private companies offering telephone connections in big cities. Of course, there will a lot of takers for the lucrative long-distance domestic and international services, and value-added services such as data transmission, voice mail and Electronic-mail (E-mail).

Even though there is a lot more to telecom, it is the provision of this low-tech telephone instrument at a subscriber's premise that announces that the telecom revolution has made its impact. It is not going to happen overnight. Let us consider the facts. It takes at least eight months to install a 10,000-line electronic exchange. And another three years to lay underground copper cables and provide telephone connections. Due to DoT's archaic management practices these things are not even speeded up by carrying out the various tasks simultaneously.

No private operator will have the patience to wait for three years to start earning revenue. So what will he do? He will use wirelesses in local loop technology. This means that radio telephones which do not require cumbersome cabling will be offered to subscribers. A telephone which can be used only to contact people within a radius of a few kilometers is of no use. So private operators will have to get access to DoT's extensive local and long-distance network.

P.M. SHIRODKAR



A funeral ceremony being conducted for a "dead" phone in Chembur: Will things really change?

Tariff-sharing and priority access will be a contentious issue. So there has to be a referee to enforce various agreements between different operators. The NTP is silent on the pressing need for a telecom regulatory authority. Instead, DoT will continue to be the match referee as well as a player. One cannot expect DoT to promote its competitors except at its own peril.

Because of these reasons, telecom is a natural monopoly. Only New Zealand and UK have,so far, managed to break the monopoly in local services by allowing more operators. More countries are now trying this out. India should also do this straight-away instead of taking the intermediate steps of corporatising departmentally run units first, privatising them in the second stage and throwing them open by allowing more operators as the last act.

That corporatisation is no [illegible] been proven amply by the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL) in Bombay and Delhi — in fact, the setting up of MTNL has been the biggest farce enacted by DoT since 1986. With DoT not even allowing MTNL to buy brooms to sweep its premises on its own, the corporation only provided a front to channelise public money into its coffers.

The biggest impediments to progress are the 4,50,000 employees, nearly 4,00,000 of whom are linemen, cable jointers, technicians, phone inspectors, telephone operators, drivers and daily wage staff hired to dig trenches to lay cables. The modern telecom technology does not need this massive workforce — the latest electronic exchanges (capacity up to 1,00,000 lines) can be run by a dozen junior engineers working in three shifts a day. Linemen are irrelevant, as the minutest faults can be detected by computers at the exchange itself.

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SHRIRAM VERNEKAR



An MTNL trench left untended for months: Overstaffed and inefficient

A diminished work-force is already a reality in several parts of the world. While India has an employee for every 14 telephones, Japan has one person handling 300 telephone connections, Europe 200-250, the US and Malaysia 60-80, and Sri Lanka 40. Even if DoT increases the number of lines and bridges this gap, it is not going to make much difference. Because a majority of the employees will still not have a stake in the efficient running of the system, as they themselves may not be able to afford a telephone at home. Their indifference will be like that of a villager's disdain for a superfast train whizzing past his field,partly acquired from him to lay the track. He might never get to or even, need to board, that train. This is the root cause of the indifferent and often rude behaviour of low level telecom staff.

Marginalised by the technology, the employees will not let things change for the better for the subscribers. They have already served notice on this score. There is another major hurdle: the bridging of the demand-supply gap. There are over three million applicants on the waiting list for the past five years. This is a suppressed demand and more people may apply if there is a reasonable chance of getting a phone quickly.

On an average, DoT (including MTNL) has been providing nearly 3,50,000 new connections a year. This figure has to be increased by five times every year to wipe out the existing waiting list within the next three years. For instance, MTNL provided approximately 30,000 connections between April 1993 and February 1994. In March, they sent letters to nearly 70,000 new applicants by giving them their OB (order book) number then proclaimed to the world that a record 1,00,000 connections were provided in 1993-94. Most of these applicants will not get their phones before the end of the year. The charade will be repeated every year. This is the strategy followed all over country. So much for corporate efficiency. The private companies don't have a magic wand even if the government manages to acquire one overnight.

Above all, no politician or bureaucrat would be willing to part with the discretionary powers to grant phone connections out of turn. Also the power to decide equipment purchase plans running into thousands of crores of rupees. No wonder Vittal, an IAS officer who is an outsider in an organisation dominated by technocrats, is a one-man army [illegible] olistic DoT.

What is the solution then? Break up DoT into small units and sell the equity to the public. And allow competition in each and every area. Let an independent regulatory authority be the referee. Give a subscriber choice. Let him decide whose service he wants. Only then will the telecom revolution truly begin. ■

THE year: 2001. Rajesh, a computer software exporter, could not take even a minute off from his busy schedule in the five years that it took him to make his first million. But finally, he paid heed to his family and took them to a remote Pacific island for a well-deserved vacation.

Even though his colleagues back home in Bangalore did not want to disturb Rajesh on his holiday, however, they needed advice on a crucial project. It could not wait till his return.

No problem. They picked up the phone and tapped a code and a nine-digit number. Within seconds, Rajesh was on the line. Welcome to the world of satellite phones. Along with video phones, it is the ultimate aim of the telecom industry.

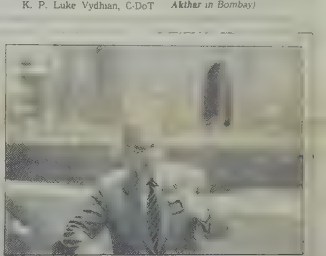
The details of how to make this into reality have already been worked out. The Iridium project involves 66 small communication satellites orbiting the earth at a few hundred kilometres from the surface. The signals (punching the numbers) from a hand-held phone will be picked up by the satellite closest to the subscriber's location. The computer software will then bounce it off to a number of satellites till the signal homes in on the phone of the person who is being called.

Every nook and corner of the earth can be covered easily by such a satellite network. When this becomes operational, almost everyone on earth can be provided a telephone with a permanent number. This will eliminate the hassles associated with changing one's phone number with every shift in residence. With a tiny camera also attached to the phone, the caller and the receiver can see each other while they talk. But out goes privacy if one forgets to switch off the video attachment on the phone.

With the opening up of the country's telecom sector, Indians too can avail of such facilities, early next century. For, India, too, has contributed to this multi-national project.

The intermediate stage of development is the cellular telephone, which is an improvement over the car telephone. In a car telephone system, the signal from a moving vehicle is transmitted through microwaves to a mother exchange. From there, the call materialises [illegible] range, however, is limited.

On the other hand, in the cellular system, a city is divided into a large number of cells as are found in a beehive. Computers assist the telephone signal to move from one cell to another as the vehicle moves. The same cellular telephone can be used from a stationary site like an office or home.



A radio pager: Step one in the technology revolution

Say hello to tomorrow

We in India will have to wait for some more time as the government's plans to introduce this system have been delayed for nearly three years, thanks to faulty management.

While we await the ultimate telephone, the advances in tech[illegible] tor. This sector is no longer characterised by the humble telephone. Facsimile (fax) transmission came first. Paging systems, capable of alerting subscribers and even passing on cryptic messages, have already flooded the market.

While we await the ultimate telephone, the advances in technology in recent years have revolutionised the telecom sector. This sector is no longer characterised by the humble telephone. Facsimile (fax) transmission came first. Paging systems, capable of alerting subscribers and even passing on cryptic messages, have flooded the market

An improvement of this facility has been attempted with the introduction of radio pagers in the country. Here the spare frequencies available on All India Radio's countrywide network of FM (frequency modulated) radio transmitters are sought to be used for local paging.

Another innovation is the E mail (electronic mail), in which distant computers can be linked together through high-speed telephone lines. The conversion of computer messages into electronic signals for transmission through telephone lines is done by an instrument called the modem. The cost of transmission is a fraction of the cost of an STD or trunk call, making it feasible for reams of data be transmitted across the globe.

In fact, this can turn the 20th century practice of regular office hours on its head as anyone can work from home and communicate with the office [illegible] network.

[illegible] country to state [illegible] New Delhi. And given the rate at which innovations are taking place in technology, the linking of telecom networks may realise McLuhan's mega vision of a shrinking world.

N. S.

SPECIAL REPORT

Wired for the future

Sumit Chakraberty taps the network to listen to the echoes of the new telecom policy which is generating great expectations

“THE new electronics interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village,” wrote Marshall McLuhan, in *The Medium is the Message*, in 1967.

Sadly, it seems our planners did not get the message. C-DoT director K. N. Gupta harks back to a piquant moment during a conference he was attending in Jordan in 1980. A delegate from another country showed him a news item on India's new manufacturing facility in Rae Bareily to produce Stowger exchanges.

These obsolete relics of the forties had given way to crossbar technology in the sixties itself. In the eighties, the world had already turned to electronic switching, first to the analogue kind and then to the digitalised systems that are driving the telecommunications revolution. In fact, in 1980 it was time to start thinking of replacing the Stowgers. Instead, somebody had decided to put up a Stowger manufacturing unit! Such was the ad hocism that characterised telecom planning until recently.

Part of the trouble was that, many considered telecommunications an elite service. G. T. Narayan, former adviser to the telecom commission, recalls the mortification of trying to reason with a top bureaucrat who was insisting, “A man can live without a telephone, but can he survive without drinking water?”

It was this sort of simplistic thinking that set the country back by years. The enormous support that an efficient telecom infrastructure provides to all sectors of the economy, and the resultant gains in productivity, are often overlooked.

A recent study of 119 villages attached to 32 C-DoT RAXs, conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research estimates a Rs 70,000 net economic benefit accruing from each rural telecom line. For instance, the flow of information from distant markets might permit new cropping patterns which in turn would generate higher incomes. Or, access to information might lead to a reduction of inventories which would mean higher profits.

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The possibilities, as Prof Rao says, are endless. To take a somewhat esoteric example, there is something called a global positioning system. Co-ordinated by three satellites, it can fix the position of a user within a few metres. You can use your wireless phone to locate yourself on a map. Or, if you like, you can switch on your geyser with a cellular phone. Such systems are already being developed in India.

At the heart of all this is, of course, the semiconductor chip. And engineers are transcending the frontiers of physics to pack more and more into an integrated circuit.

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So, if funds are pumped into telecom, that would in turn attract more capital, because global companies are reluctant to commit their investments to areas not served by efficient telecom networks. It is this, more than anything else, that is loosening the tight political control that has traditionally been maintained over this ‘core sector’.

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TO Graphic



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P.M. SHIRODKAR



A funeral ceremony being conducted for a “dead” phone in Chembur: Will things really change?

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Tariff-sharing and priority access will be a contentious issue. So there has to be a referee to enforce various agreements between different operators. The NTP is silent on the pressing need for a telecom regulatory authority. Instead, DoT will continue to be the match referee as well as a player. One cannot expect DoT to promote its competitors except at its own peril.

Because of these reasons, telecom is a natural monopoly. Only New Zealand and UK have,so far, managed to break the monopoly in local services by allowing more operators. More countries are now trying this out. India should also do this straight-away instead of taking the intermediate steps of corporatising departmentally run units first, privatising them in the second stage and throwing them open by allowing more operators as the last act.

That corporatisation is no harbinger of better services has been proven amply by the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL) in Bombay and Delhi — in fact, the setting up of MTNL has been the biggest farce enacted by DoT since 1986. With DoT not even allowing MTNL to buy brooms to sweep its premises on its own, the corporation only provided a front to channelise public money into its coffers.

It will be easy to make the dream come true provided the arrogant, unresponsive, monolithic Department of Telecommunications (DoT) is demolished

The biggest impediments to progress are the 4,50,000 employees, nearly 4,00,000 of whom are linemen, cable jointers, technicians, phone inspectors, telephone operators, drivers and daily wage staff hired to dig trenches to lay cables. The modern telecom technology does not need this massive workforce — the latest electronic exchanges (capacity up to 1,00,000 lines) can be run by a dozen junior engineers working in three shifts a day. Linemen are irrelevant, as the minutest faults can be detected by computers at the exchange itself.

SHRIRAM VERNEKAR



An MTNL trench left untended for months: Overstaffed and inefficient

A diminished work-force is already a reality in several parts of the world. While India has an employee for every 14 telephones, Japan has one person handling 300 telephone connections, Europe 200-250, the US and Malaysia 60-80, and Sri Lanka 40. Even if DoT increases the number of lines and bridges this gap, it is not going to make much difference. Because a majority of the employees will still not have a stake in the efficient running of the system, as they themselves may not be able to afford a telephone at home. Their indifference will be like that of a villager's disdain for a superfast train whizzing past his field,partly acquired from him to lay the track. He might never get to or even, need to board, that train. This is the root cause of the indifferent and often rude behaviour of low-level telecom staff.

Marginalised by the technology, the employees will not let things change for the better for the subscribers. They have already served notice on this score. There is another major hurdle: the bridging of the demand-supply gap. There are over three million applicants on the waiting list for the past five years. This is a suppressed demand and more people may apply if there is a reasonable chance of getting a phone quickly.

On an average, DoT (including MTNL) has been providing nearly 3,50,000 new connections a year. This figure has to be increased by five times every year to wipe out the existing waiting list within the next three years. For instance, MTNL provided approximately 30,000 connections between April 1993 and February 1994. In March, they sent letters to nearly 70,000 new applicants by giving them their OB (order book) number then proclaimed to the world that a record 1,00,000 connections were provided in 1993-94. Most of these applicants will not get their phones before the end of the year. The charade will be repeated every year. This is the strategy followed all over country. So much for corporate efficiency. The private companies don't have a magic wand even if the government manages to acquire one overnight.

Above all, no politician or bureaucrat would be willing to part with the discretionary powers to grant phone connections out of turn. Also the power to decide equipment purchase plans running into thousands of crores of rupees. No wonder Vittal, an IAS officer who is an outsider in an organisation dominated by technocrats, is a one-man army fighting to discipline the monopolistic DoT.

What is the solution then? Break up DoT into small units and sell the equity to the public and allow competition in each and every area. Let an independent regulatory authority be the referee (give a subscriber choice). Let him decide whose service he wants. Only then will the telecom revolution truly begin. ■



A radio pager: Step one in the technology revolution

Say hello to tomorrow

THE year: 2001. Rajesh, a computer software exporter, could not take even a minute off from his busy schedule in the five years that it took him to make his first million. But finally, he paid heed to his family and took them to a remote Pacific island for a well-deserved vacation.

Even though his colleagues back home in Bangalore did not want to disturb Rajesh on his holiday, however, they needed advice on a crucial project. It could not wait till his return.

No problem. They picked up the phone and tapped a code and a nine-digit number. Within seconds, Rajesh was on the line. Welcome to the world of satellite phones. Along with video phones, it is the ultimate aim of the telecom industry.

The details of how to make this into reality have already been worked out. The Iridium project involves 66 small communication satellites orbiting the earth at a few hundred kilometres from the surface. The signals (punching the numbers) from a hand-held phone will be picked up by the satellite closest to the subscriber's location. The computer software will then bounce it off to a number of satellites till the signal homes in on the phone of the person who is being called.

Every nook and corner of the earth can be covered easily by such a satellite network. When this becomes operational, almost everyone on earth can be provided a telephone with a permanent number. This will eliminate the hassles associated with changing one's phone number with every shift in residence. With a tiny camera also attached to the phone, the caller and the receiver can see each other while they talk. But out goes privacy if one forgets to switch off the video attachment on the phone.

With the opening up of the country's telecom sector, Indians too can avail of such facilities, early next century. For, India, too, has contributed to this multi-national project.

The intermediate stage of development is the cellular telephone, which is an improvement over the car telephone. In a car telephone system, the signal from a moving vehicle is transmitted through micro waves to a mother exchange. From there, the call materialises in the normal manner. The range, however, is limited.

On the other hand, in the cellular system, a city is divided into a large number of cells as are found in a beehive. Computers [illegible] be used from a stationary site like an office or home.

We in India will have to wait for some more time as the government's plans to introduce this system have been delayed for nearly three years, thanks to faulty management.

While we await the ultimate telephone, the advances in tech[illegible]

While we await the ultimate telephone, the advances in technology in recent years have revolutionised the telecom sector. This sector is no longer characterised by the humble telephone. Facsimile (fax) transmission came first. Paging systems, capable of alerting subscribers and even passing on cryptic messages, have flooded the market

[illegible] cality has been attempted with the introduction of radio pagers in the country. Here the spare frequencies available on All India Radio's countrywide network of FM (frequency modulated) radio transmitters are sought to be used for local paging.

Another innovation is the E-mail (electronic mail), in which distant computers can be linked together through high speed telephone lines. The conversion of computer messages into electronic signals for transmission through telephone lines is done by an instrument called the modem. The cost of transmission is a fraction of the cost of an STD or trunk call, making it feasible for reams of data to be transmitted across the g[illegible]

In fact, this can turn the 2[illegible] century practice of regular o[illegible]

THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA

COMMENT

VANDANA SHIVA

GATT's green guise

THE primary lesson of the environment movement over the past few decades has been that unregulated commerce is a major source of environmental destruction. The Chipko movement fought against commercial forestry and achieved a ban on commercial logging in the Uttar Pradesh hills. Movements for prevention of drought and desertification often demand social regulation of water use as in the case of Pani Panchayat. Environmental protection makes regulation of resource use an imperative.

Since "free trade" is basically a pleasant and persuasive label for deregulated international commerce, it was but natural that environmentalists should be the first critics at the global level of the new trade regime emerging from the Uruguay Round of GATT.

According to free-traders, maximisation of profits through increased trade will create investment to clean up the damage done by free trade. This is, of course, a flawed position since ecological destruction is mostly irreversible and cannot be set right by financial investment. A species pushed to extinction cannot be recovered. The ozone hole does not require money to fix it, but a reduction in the production and consumption of chemicals that deplete the ozone layer.

Ecological processes and finances have a one-way relationship. We can destroy ecological balance to create cash. We cannot always recover the complex web of delicate ecological links that have been destroyed through money.

While the trade and environment debate has until recently been about the virtues of regulation and deregulation of commerce, in recent months it has undergone a massive shift and realignment. Politically it has shifted from the clash of interest of citizens and commercial organisations to being primarily a North-South conflict. Intellectually it has shifted from issues of ecology to issues of power.

There are two aspects of trade and environment in GATT. First is the inevitable environmental impact of increased international trade which requires resource- and energy-intensive production and distribution. The second relates to the proposals coming from the North to increase GATT powers by adding an environment policy to its agenda of work.

The first aspect requires an ecological audit of GATT and a search for ways to minimise the environmental costs of trade. The second will allow the increased use of the environment as an excuse for "green protectionism", and as an instrument of unilateralism and "green imperialism". It is the second option that the northern countries are promoting, while leaving the question of the environmental impact of GATT unaddressed.

On December 15, 1993, while concluding the Uruguay Round of negotiations, the Trade Negotiations Committee of GATT proposed a programme which states that whilst desiring that there be coordination and environmental policies, this should be done "without exceeding the competence of the multilateral trading system, which is limited to trade policies and these trade-related aspects of environment policies which may result in significant trade effects for its members".

However, the US, the European Union and the other major industrialised nations and some non-governmental voices from the North are pressing for a GATT/WTO committee on trade and environment and are already talking of a "green round", which would legitimise protectionism for so-called "green" objectives.

There are a number of reasons that indicate that the proposal for "Green GATT" are not guided by a green politics or economics.

Firstly, the countries now demanding the "greening of GATT" are the very forces that pushed the new areas in the Uruguay Round which have a serious impact on the environment of the Third World. The introduction of agriculture and intellectual property rights into GATT and their removal from sovereign domestic policy-making, goes against the diversity of socio-economic conditions, institutional structures and cultural priorities in different countries. The monocultures and intensive resource use in agricultural production and trade and the uniformity of intellectual property rights regime that will be the inevitable result of GATT will have high social, economic and ecological costs for the Third World. In their proposals for a "Green GATT", the northern countries are not suggesting ways to reduce the environmental impact of the free-trade proposals of GATT. They are merely finding new ways to introduce protectionism under a green guise.

The lack of an environmental commitment of the North is evident in its having put pressure within GATT on the issue of trade in domestically prohibited goods.

There was a work programme in GATT dating back to 1982 (and revived in 1989) which dealt with the issue of trade in domestically prohibited goods for decisions to be taken along with the Uruguay Round package. But it appears to have been quietly buried because of the position of the US which wanted exemption for pharmaceuticals, pesticides and other chemicals and also automobile spare parts.

This issue has become one of central importance to environmental movements and policy-making in the South, as the export of hazardous goods, substances, technologies and wastes to the South (usually without the South's knowledge) is a major mechanism by which environmental damage is taking place in the South. Since 1989, more than 500 attempts have been made to export toxic wastes from OECD countries to non-OECD countries. OECD members generate 98 per cent of all hazardous wastes. Internalisation of these environmental hazards is an urgent environmental imperative.

These double standards make evidently clear the fact that it is not the environment but protectionism that is the real objective in proposals for a Green round of GATT.

Moreover, as the closing phase of the Uruguay Round showed, GATT's decision-making is dominated by only two or three major countries or entities, and a majority of parties have to accept the decisions or deals arrived at by these few. Given the reality of this decision-making process in GATT (and, in all likelihood, the same will prevail in the WTO) and the current state of the international political and economic power relations, any rules developed in this asymmetric forum would most likely serve to legitimise the use of trade weapons which the North and the powerful can use against the South and the weak. But the South will be unable to use them against the North.

There is thus the danger that through particular and narrow definitions of the trade-environment link, the powerful nations will try to shift the economic burden of ecological adjustment to the weaker parties in order to preserve and expand their own unsustainable consumption patterns.

Opportunistic use of economic power by the North in the form of trade actions cannot protect this fragile earth. Only strong community and citizens' rights can. The solution to the environmental crisis is not more power to GATT/WTO or the US trade office as the North is demanding. The solution is more power to citizens and national policy frameworks that make citizen control possible. ■

(The author is a renowned environmentalist)

A suitable envoy

SECOND IMPRESSION

FRANK GEORGE WISNER

AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE Frank George Wisner, who appeared before a Senate foreign relations sub-committee on Tuesday for his confirmation as ambassador to India, is regarded as among the brightest and fastest rising stars in the United States foreign service.

The new ambassador has a largely non-controversial record and has served Republican and Democratic administrations in highly visible positions. His name carries the necessary distinction to ensure a swift and certain passage through the confirmation hearings.

It was precisely for this that the 56-year-old Wisner was chosen as a replacement for Stephen Solarz. A former Brooklyn Congressman and a well-known friend of India, Solarz was expected to have considerable difficulty in being confirmed as ambassador.

At present the under-secretary of defence for policy, Wisner has previously served as the US envoy to Egypt and the Philippines, countries that are key allies of the US in the Arabic and Pacific worlds. India-watchers here place him in the class of Thomas Pickering, the former US ambassador to India, now posted in Moscow, who was earlier the US ambassador to the United Nations.

Like Pickering, Wisner enjoys considerable seniority and experience, sufficient to be appointed to a country of 800 million which has been designated for special attention by the US commerce department as one of ten 'Big Emerging Market' nations.

"I have not heard a bad word about Wisner from anybody in the defence department... No one ever said a bad word about him," says an expert on Indo-US relations at the Woodrow Wilson Centre. "If the administration has been criticised for its ineptitude in foreign policy, Wisner was one person who was always held up as a model of professionalism and skill."

In his three decades with the US foreign service, the closest that Wisner came to India was Dhaka, where he served as first secretary in the embassy in 1973-74. Much of his career revolved around Africa and West Asia, with postings in Morocco, Algiers, Tunisia and Egypt. From 1982 to 1986, he was deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs in Washington, before being sent to Egypt as ambassador in 1986.



For all his impressive credentials, however, Wisner might cause some unease in New Delhi because of some of his recent actions. Barely two weeks before he was chosen to go to India, he was lobbying Congress to clear the delivery of F-16 fighter aircraft to Pakistan in a 'one-time exception' to the Pressler amendment.

That action is the subject of continuing criticism from a section of American scholars here who fear yet another arms race between India and Pakistan. How could any US official promote arms proliferation, particularly in a region where the US is trying to bring about nuclear and missile non-proliferation, asks one observer.

Even if Wisner mooted the proposal for the delivery of F-16s, it is unfair, as some senior Indian diplomats point out, to hold Wisner responsible for what is the administration's policy decision. "The man's professional reputation is very good; if he is involved in issues on which we have differences with the US, you can't draw conclusions of a personal nature," says one diplomat.

It would be a 'grave mistake', says one American scholar, for the Indian media to attack Wisner in the way that they condemned and vilified Robin Raphel, the assistant secretary of state for South Asia.

Wisner has figured prominently in other arms-sale issues as well. On September 28, 1992, he approved the sale of $9 billion worth of 72 F-15XP planes to Saudi Arabia. As the then under-secretary for international security affairs under the Bush administration, he said the sale of the aircraft promoted US security and foreign policy interests in the Persian Gulf and West Asia.

In February 1993, *The Washington Post* reported that US proliferation watchdogs were "concerned" that Wisner did not object to the sale of Cray super computers to China. None of the criticism, however, dented the senior state department official's credibility.

Last May, after the alleged Iraqi plot to assassinate President George Bush was uncovered, Wisner, as the defence under secretary-designate, once again raised eyebrows when he called for "direct retribution" against Iraq. Others proposing similar action were the then deputy national security advisor, Samuel R "Sandy" Berger and the Central Intelligence Agency director, James Woolsey.

Some critics link Wisner's departure from the Pentagon with reports by defence experts on the poor performance of the defence policy team that he heads there. It was this department that contributed significantly to the downfall of the former defence secretary, Les Aspin. While testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee last month, the incoming defence secretary, William Perry, promised to overhaul the Pentagon's "troubled policy officers".

Yet, most observers do not see Wisner's posting to India as a demotion, even if he will go from being under-secretary with a sub cabinet rank to an ambassador reporting to an assistant secretary for South Asia. "I don't see this as a demotion at all," says one expert, citing the example of Thomas Pickering who came to India giving up his cabinet rank as the US ambassador to the UN.

"In a purely notional way people might consider it as a demotion," adds another expert. "India is not a country of two million people" where diplomats were sent on demotions, he says. Citing former envoys such as Chester Bowles, John Kenneth Galbraith, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Thomas Pickering, this observer notes that "there has never been a less than distinguished (US) ambassador to India".

The appointment of Wisner would thus be in keeping with the well established American tradition of sending people from within the foreign service or persons of well-established merit as ambassadors.

Abhay Vaidya

Song Sung Blue

JUGULAR VEIN

JUG SURAIYA

FOLLOWING the spate of songs with objectionable lyrics containing taboo words like *choli*, sexy and *khatiya*, a special Censor has been appointed to protect the ears of the Moral Majority from the aural onslaught unleashed on them by the Vocalising Minority. The office of the Censor has already been inundated by a flood of complaints concerning dubious ditties and harmonies that are likely to offend public sensibilities. From the mail received it seems that the musical malaise afflicting our society is far more pervasive than initially believed and isn't restricted to the world of the Bombay dirty-talkie.

Dear Censor,

This is to bring to your attention a jingle which for the past 47 years has been having a most pernicious influence on young and impressionable minds. It is a measure of the depths to which we have sunk that in all this time no action has been taken against this piece of music which militates against our great and glorious tradition of national disintegration, and which only too frequently is played in public places where women, children and others with tender sensitivities are present. Though periodically an outcry has been raised against it, particularly in recent times, the authorities concerned have chosen to turn a deaf ear to such plaints. I shall not risk bringing a blush to your unblemished cheek by mentioning the name of the song in question. Suffice to say that while it refers to parts of the body politic calculated to arouse base passions, like Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravid, Utkal and Banga, no mention whatsoever is made of the legitimate aspirations of the majority as represented by Khalistan, PoK, Bodoland, Jharkhand, NRI Inc and the US of Aye, all of which constitute the greater part of Akhand Bharat that is Indiana. By suppressing all these, the song in question is obviously a sop designed for the appeasement of that ungrateful minority called the Common Indian, whatever unmentionable thing that is.

Yrs etc.,
AK and 47 others

Comrade Censorda,

Lal salaam to you and yours. On behalf of the revolutionary masses we wish to make a fitting reply to that running doggerel of capitalism which is heard wherever one goes: *Yehi hai right choice, baby!* In the interests of the emerging true world-historical order as determined by the dialectics of Marxism-Leninism the politically correct formulation is *Yehi hai* left choice, baby! Which as everyone knows is Coke — the Real Zing, as in *Inquilab Zingabad!* Zingers of the world unite — you have nothing to lose but your non-returnable bottles.

Yrs etc.,
J. Basu, R. Chauhan and Party

Male chauvinist Censor pig,

If you were to unplug the gender bias along with the wax from your ears you would doubtless become aware of a thoroughly disgusting, reprehensible and sexist refrain which has been doing the rounds for some time. Not only does it by implication further debase the status of women in our male-dominated society but is inimical to the principle of equal opportunity at home and in the world. It is particularly disquieting to note that this tendentious dithyramb of discrimination has recently made it to the Top-of-the-Pops (why not the Top of the Moms? one might well ask) as far afield as New York, Houston and Washington, and is now being chorused in our national media — clear evidence that a foreign hand is at work here. *For he's a jolly good fellow/ For he's a jolly fellow/ For he's a jolly good fellow/ That no one can deny?* Well, we can deny it, and certainly shall — as soon as our specially appointed committee for the purpose has found a suitable feminine substitute for fellow. Fellix, fellee, feline?

Yrs etc.,
Soniaji, (Dowager Empress and PM-in-Waiting)

Dear Censor,

Hip, hip hooray! for your crusade to clean up our national act. Come to think of it, aren't hips a bit risque? In the interests of public decency shouldn't it be changed to Elbow, elbow hooray!, particularly as most of the Moral Majority don't seem to know their aspirant from their elbow?

Yrs etc.,
P. Uritan, P. Rig, P. Rude et al

All the other 17,897 letters received by the Censor were signed Cancelled Subscription and expressed horror, shock and outrage at a recurrent leitmotiv, of anonymous authorship, which transgressed all norms of good taste — not to mention sound, sight, smell and touch; being, in short, totally senseless:

Ha, ha, ha
Hee, hee, hee
Little brown Jug
How I love thee! ■

Hardsell of a nation

FOR the men charged with guiding India's diplomatic initiatives in a rapidly changing world, it is certainly not business as usual. The days of pure song and dance are over. It is time to talk shop. But even as buying and selling become the cornerstone of every major nation's foreign policy, the India of yore continues to hold sway over the collective western consciousness: an ancient land bursting at the seams with bewildering contradictions, a giant country where the profound and the ludicrous exist side by side, the beautiful and the grimy criss-cross, the past and the present coalesce.

Although festivals of India, those much-touted carriers of culture with their colourful mix of folksy shows and classical soirees, are fast becoming passe and are being replaced by high-profile trade displays designed to convince the world of the importance of investing in the vast market that is India, the image still seems to be larger than the nation. The West appears to be in no hurry to "bury" the past and begin to see India in a new light. Inevitably, the maharajah and the snake-charmer still triumph over the software professional and the high-tech entrepreneur.

As they nearly did during the recently concluded 'India Today 1994', a series of promotional events held in Australia under the aegis of the federal government, to celebrate the first real stirrings of vibrancy in an economy which has been described by the former Singapore prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, as a sleeping giant capable of completely altering the contours of global trade. The rubric was right; the package wasn't entirely so. The 'India Today' events avowedly sought to highlight the technological and commercial strides made by the world's largest democracy but, more often than not, seemed to reinforce the cliches that constitute the staple diet of all Indophiles: folk dances, tribal art, spicy cuisine, classical music. So what one encountered at the Indian Bazaar at King George Square in the heart of Brisbane were colourfully attired Rajasthani folk singers and dancers, the kind you would see every night at the Village Bistro in Hauz Khas. The modern face of India — a lone computer — was relegated to a nondescript corner of the marquee.

True, our cultural heritage represents the timelessness of India better than anything else. But, sadly, the past also conjures up a gamut of negative impressions about India in the western mind — widespread chaos, social iniquity, cultural insularity, economic unreliability, corruption, riots. The world has come a long way in the past three years and it means business. India, too, has witnessed profound economic and social changes in recent times. Unfortunately, however, the country has failed to dispel the old fears. Most people in the West still perceive India as a region riddled with insurmountable problems, as a country of unruly, unreliable, lazy, violent people, unscrupulous businessmen, corrupt politicians and stuffy bureaucrats. No amount of hype regarding our liberalisation process will be effective unless it is accompanied by a complete transformation of our national mindset. To secure its place among the key international economic powers of the future, India has to establish its credentials as a nation that is competitive, modern, efficient and forward-looking. It is going to be a long haul, but is worth a try all the same.

TOUCHSTONE

SAIBAL CHATTERJEE

A beginning of sorts has already been made. Gone are the days when this huge [illegible] nation was sought to be sold to the West solely through the festivals of India. [illegible] Pupul Jayakar when the national mascot [illegible]. Indo-Australian trade was the thrust of India Today 1994. P. V. Narasimha Rao's visit to the US for a summit meeting with Bill Clinton [illegible] was [illegible] much by [illegible] and by [illegible]. The ongoing [illegible] India [illegible] though [illegible] not altogether unnecessary [illegible] harks back to a tradition that has [illegible] its efficacy, at least temporarily.

The most immediate task ahead of our diplomats is to refurbish India's image. The nation has [illegible] its reputation of being slothful, corrupt and unpredictable before we can think in terms of genuinely capitalising on the reforms process.

The feeling in Australia, for instance, is that India should now be devoting all its energy to wooing foreign investors with promises of stability and efficiency. There is no need anymore to harp on India's rich cultural heritage. It has always had buyers and will continue to do so. India's classical music and dance, its tribal art, its ancient sculpture, its modern painting, its traditional medicine and its cuisine are loved the world over. In fact, among the most successful components of the month-long 'India Today 1994' was an exhibition of Indian bronzes at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney. There fore, it is the task of dispelling doubts about India's work ethos that calls for greater attention.

The developed world is unlikely to update its vision of India on its own. To cite an example, a geography textbook written in 1969 continues to be read in Australian schools to this day. Titled *A Struggling Democracy*, the chapter on India reads like a [illegible] plague the country, especially of those that relate to the caste system [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] rank among the [illegible] ■

SUNDAY FORUM

Schindler's List

Sir,

■ It was alarming to learn that India is being pressurised by some Arab countries to ban Steven Spielberg's film, *Schindler's List* (May 15), simply because it hurts the sentiments of a particular community. One fails to understand why these countries are raising a hue and cry over a film that is a stark portrayal of truth, and exerting pressure on a secular country like India. The Arabs should learn not to shy away from hard realities. One certainly hopes the Indian government will not succumb to such tactics.

A.V. Vaidya
Bombay

Divorced reality

■ The article, 'Talaq, talaq, talaq' (Sunday Review, May 8) was excellent and should serve as an eye opener for ulemas and Muslim hardliners who have been raising a hue and cry over Justice Tilhani's verdict. The writer, Jyoti Punwani, has exposed the orthodox Muslims' so-called concern at the interference in the Shariat. While several Islamic countries have outlawed the talaq-ul-bidat, India continues to practise the obscurantist law. It is high time the orthodoxists realised the ground reality and worked for the goodwill of the Muslim community.

Pankaj Kumar Jha
New Delhi

Uncivil usage

■ I strongly object to the usage of the word pariah in the last para of Swaminathan A Aiyar's article 'Who's afraid of subordinacy?' (April 24) as it is used out of context. The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, abolishes the practice of untouchability in any form. It is disheartening to note that even the press has subscribed to the discrimination and atrocities committed against the socially and educationally backwards by the usage of such words.

M Ravichandiran
New Delhi

Missing the master

■ After reading the piece on J. Swaminathan (May 8), I feel impelled to share some thoughts about the great painter. The greatest contribution of Swami to his fellow artists was an enquiring, questioning mind. The ruthlessness with which he spared none, including himself, while looking at a painting was a thrilling, meaningful event. A lot of us are poorer now that the excitement of what Swami will say to a new painting is gone.

Nand Katyal
New Delhi

Damaging review

■ I would like to draw your attention to a review of our book, *The Complete Book of Muslim & Parsi Names*, authored by Maneka Gandhi and Ozair Husain (Sunday Review, May 15). The reviewer, I wonder wittingly or unwittingly, has damaged our reputation as publishers.

As publisher, I must let you know that the reviewer, Adil Jussawalla, has aired his ignorance on the etymology and phonetics of the subject he so wisely chose to review. When he talks about a whole page of names beginning with the letter 'O' being dropped out, he did not take into account the phonetics of the language which make it mandatory for sounds similar to 'O' being written as 'U', the pronunciation of which is guttural, typical to Arabic and which must be learnt by ear. If the author spells his name as Ozair, instead of 'Uzair' (which is the way it should be pronounced), it is a personal idiosyncrasy — a very common observation now-a days. Before the reviewer could put 'egg on the publisher's Rupa', he should have have at least checked whether his points had any validity. We are done a grave injustice.

R.K. Mehra
Rupa & Co
New Delhi

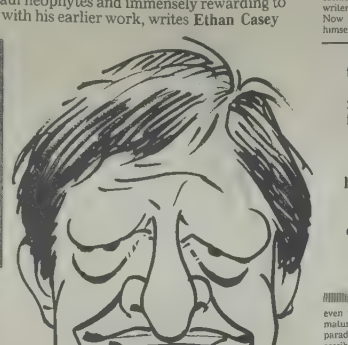
Adil Jussawalla replies.
My review was written after several people had gone through the book in question. All of them found it strange that while one of the editor's names begins with 'O', there isn't a single name in the main body of the book which begins with that letter. I may point out that another reviewer has made the same observation in another newspaper(The Sunday Observer, May 15).

Instead of drawing attention to the links between 'O' and 'U' in a letter, the publishers might have considered doing so in the book itself, thus sparing "ignorant" laypersons like me and other readers a great deal of confusion. This could have been done in the book's introduction, or by the simple expedient of saying under the letter 'O', "see 'U'."

By pointing out an obvious lacuna, I can hardly be accused of damaging the publisher's reputation. If they believe they are clearly in the right, they should state rightaway that future editions of the book will carry no clarification what soever. I myself believe that their readers deserve better.

Mastermix

V. S. Naipaul's latest book is his best and most important yet, both accessible to Naipaul neophytes and immensely rewarding to readers familiar with his earlier work, writes Ethan Casey



A Way in the World: A Sequence
By V.S. Naipaul
Heinemann, London
Rs 325

It would be merely stating the obvious to say that V.S Naipaul's new book is superb. As ever, he commands English prose impeccably, and on display is a narrative gift of the highest order, first deployed fully in the 1967, "novel" *The Enigma of Arrival*. Without doubt Naipaul's most accomplished and most important book, *A Way in the World* commands awe, and offers great relief to readers whose respect may have sagged with his disappointing, oddly perfunctory last book, *India: A Million Mutinies Now* (1991).

"I left home more than 40 years ago. I was 18." An admiring reviewer reads the first two sentences with something like dismay: Hasn't one read this story before? Indeed one has, more than once Naipaul's body of writing, especially in the last decade, exhibits a spiral pattern of relentless returning and re numbering. If this is Naipaul's Achilles' heel, it is well to recall that Achilles was the greatest of warriors. While Naipaul's reputation is largely as a critic of "third world" societies, he really is above all an autobiographer

[illegible] the second narrative in *Finding the Centre* (1984).

has brought forth a large and important, if sometimes deeply flawed, body of writing.

Naipaul evidently still has much to tell us about himself and what he has learned over a very long career. *A Way in the World* is a close companion of *The Enigma of Arrival*, and like that masterpiece it resounds with echoes of his earlier books and travels. With its retellings of the exploits of Sir Walter Raleigh and Francisco Miranda, it is in part a sequel to *The Loss of Eldorado*, Naipaul's 1969 history of colonial Trinidad. And Naipaul refers directly, relevantly and no doubt faithfully to his early years in London, his 1967 interview with Graham Greene, his time in Uganda in 1966 and his trip to the Ivory Coast that yielded "The Crocodiles of Yamoussoukro",

If it is a novel (and it is, in a crucial if rarefied sense), *A Way in the World* illustrates critic Peter Hughes's perceptive observation that Naipaul's fiction and non-fiction have a "twinned relation that in ... *The Enigma of Arrival*, has become almost Siamese". This is true even if we don't accept *A Way in the World* as a novel (Intriguingly, the claim is made nowhere in the book's text, front matter or jacket copy) It is above all a complex kind of autobiography, brilliantly blending personal memories, the stories of other people (the second-tier English writer Foster Morris; a Trinidadian politician named Blair; most memorably, a man met on the plane to Caracas named Manuel Sorzano), and historical fiction akin to the metafiction of John Fowles.

One of his own remarks sums up Naipaul's career: "An autobiography can distort; facts can be realigned. But fiction never lies: it reveals the writer totally." *The Enigma of Arrival* is the crescendo of Naipaul's converging tendencies to reveal and to distort His next two books seemed to show the near-great writer coasting gently downhill. Now Naipaul has outdone himself. *A Way in the World* is even more complex, subtle, and mature than *The Enigma*, yet paradoxically much more accessible. Unlike *The Enigma*, which surely would baffle any Naipaul neophyte, *A Way in the World* probably is the best introduction to his work. At the same time, it is immensely rewarding to readers who have paid their dues by reading his earlier books.

"Feeling almost superstitiously that there was a circularity in human lives," Naipaul writes, "I began to wonder where in my own writings I had marked out regions of the spirit to which I was to return." More dramatically, he has a character in the Raleigh story exclaim: "I felt I would die if I couldn't get back to the beginning, to the first world I knew." Naipaul's feelings about the first world he knew — colonial Trinidad — have always been fraught and problematic His deeply ambivalent feelings toward the Caribbean, often expressed in bitter and scornful terms, have alienated him from other Caribbean writers; yet these feelings also have been his main spur to achievement. About Trinidad he once wrote, as though simultaneously throwing down a gauntlet and egging himself on: "Identity depends in the end on achievement, and achievement here cannot but be small." Whether this claim survives scrutiny is debatable but irrelevant: the young Naipaul felt it to be true, with obvious implications for himself. Greatly to his credit, an ageing Naipaul has attempted a reconciliation that is also an offering. In *A Way in the World* he goes so far as to acknowledge that he was inspired to begin his first completed book, *Miguel Street*, by a BBC radio discussion of George Lamming's classic novel *In the Castle of My Skin*. Naipaul has not so much as mentioned another Caribbean writer in print since *An Area of Darkness* (1964), in which he also mentions Lamming. (If, as is quite plausible, the character Naipaul calls Lebron is based on the Trinidadian political leader C. L. R. James, then *A Way in the World* is both even more fascinating and more problematic than this review suggests.)

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Significantly, Naipaul has not written a late career travel book about the Caribbean, responding to *The Middle Passage* (1962) as *India: A Million Mutinies Now* did to *An Area of Darkness*. Perhaps there were people or places he could not face in that way. In reading what Greene once called "the personally impossible", Naipaul has written a book that constitutes an honest and generous admission of the truth of his own words in *A Turn in the South* (1989): "There is no landscape like the landscape of our childhood."

Perhaps as Naipaul himself has said: "The good person, if he is dedicated, always makes his limitations into virtues." ■

BY THE WAY

WHAT could an anthropologist like Verrier Elwin possibly have in common with a pop star like Bob Geldof? I doubt if either would even have heard of the other. But the most obvious thing they have in common is a concern for people

Elwin left his native England for India in the early half of this century. Rejecting the colonial privileges of being a missionary in pre-independent India, he aligned himself with the Indian freedom struggle, often bearing ridicule from his fellow Englishmen However, it isn't for this that he's revered among certain sections of the Indian populace, but for his path-breaking work among the "pre-literate aborigines" (a term he detested) spread all over the sub-continent

His autobiography gives the reader an insight into the person himself. An unassuming man, often suffering bouts of ill-health, revelling in the company of people he had tremendous respect for, Elwin disabuses the reader of the notion that academic study and research are synonymous with stuffiness and boredom His ability to skip from child-like wonder to profound observation when en countering the "ghotul" (dormitory for young members of both sexes) among the Muria or the genuine concern he feels for the poverty-stricken, opium addicted tribes in Arunachal Pradesh a quite remarkable Af home amongst both diplomats in Rashtrapati Bhavan and the betel-chewing matrilineal Khasis in his foster-home Shillong, Verrier displays the amazing ability to prognosticate events that would prove heavy for the nation

For example, the alienation of the Naga tribes due to short-sighted and pointless planning by the administration, which Elwin feared would lead to separatism in the region. Like the unshaven, foul-mouthed Irishman Bob Geldof who transformed the cruelly "exotic" phenomenon of the Ethiopian famine into something even an otherwise dim witted MP in Westminster and college student alike could relate to, with the mega-event called Band Aid

One wishes both these people had the opportunity to discuss sex, drugs, music sympathy over a pint of Guiness in some pub in Dublin

Sanjay Barbora

Bombay Bond

Breach Candy
By Luke Jennings
Hutchinson, London
Rs 149

THE world of the popular Hindi film which has already entered the English-language novel in Shashi Taroor's *Showbusiness*, and in several novels of Shobha De, is the subject of this first novel by Luke Jennings, a British journalist. The novel has two narrators, both non-Indians, who have come to Bombay to seek their identities Stanley Collinson, a British TV producer with degree in Hindi and Sanskrit, has come to Bombay to make a film about the actress Lakshmi Khandekar, and to maintain links with his colonial childhood, and Jane Webster, an Anglo-American ballet dancer, has come to stay with her sister, an American expatriate, to take stock of her life after her career has collapsed The voices of the two narrators intertwine and perform a *pas-de-deux*, but Collinson is left stranded as Khandekar and Webster have the last dance without him.

Jennings clearly knows Bombay well and his descriptions of the city and the impressions it creates in the minds of westerners are well done He also knows about film and evokes a glamorous and tacky world, full of casting-couch starlets, macho heroes and underworld dons The film world seeps into the narrative style, with much of the book being presented as a film script, and drawing heavily on cinematic techniques such as the splicing of narratives scene setting, cut aways, zooms, flashbacks, etc The dialogue is written almost as if for a film script, and shows Jennings' feel for Hindi and Indian English, which he contrasts with the British English narrative and narrators

Jennings skirts the issue of the East West encounter and the characters never come to grips with India beyond the high life of Bombay The westerners lack any serious interest in India which is used as a backdrop to their actions rather than emerging as a real place beyond their imagination and any encroachment of the reality of the city makes them feel degraded and uncomfortable Collinson, whose relationships with Indians are mostly those which have survived from his childhood, does not seem to be able to forge any new, adult or sexual bonds (apart from visiting a prostitute) with Indians, while Webster's only such contacts are made in a brief liaison with an actor and later with Khandekar This episode which will lead her to make her future in Bombay is rather sudden and seems to be presented more to thwart Collinson from two sides than as the portrayal of an emerging lesbian identity

The film techniques and presentation of dialogue mentioned above are the strength of this book, but some of the novelistic techniques are weak. The author's anxiety about the novelistic form may be seen in the varieties of media used (film, dance, journalism, job applications, references to popular Raj novels, film plots, *filmi* magazines), but often not fully integrated and it may be that Jennings' style of writing is yet to be fully developed in a novelistic form The builds on the talents he so clearly possesses, we may look forward to his future work.

Rachel Dwyer

Champ Chomp



First Things First by Stephen R. Covey, A. Roger Merrill and Rebecca R. Merrill
Simon & Schuster, New York
Distributed in India by IBD
Rs 763

FIRST things first. Twenty years ago, almost to the day, a crazy American novelist called Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. published a novel called *Breakfast Of Champions*. Bang! That hits you when you turn to page 246 of *First Things First*. Because there it says in capital letters: FEAST ON THE LUNCH OF CHAMPIONS So hey, 20 years gone and lunch has replaced breakfast? And a "creative," all-there, self-help guru's stepped into subversive, gorilla-writer's shoes? Why not? America is a sow that eats her own crusty litter before she turned herself into supermarket ham, port, bacon and baloney.

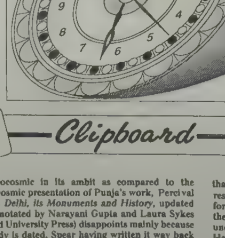
Funny thing though is the fact that page 246, and then 247, almost sounds like 20-year-old Vonnegut. Get a load of this: "...regularly seek 360 degree feedback It takes humility to ask for and receive it. . Because of its value, some people have called feedback the breakfast of champions. But it isn't breakfast; it's lunch. Vision is the breakfast. Self-correction is the dinner..." On the other hand, take in page 254 of the novel and you realise, mouldy though he is, old "Rottengut" sounds a lot like Covey & Co., only more prescient: "You are surrounded by loving machines, brave machines, cowardly machines, truthful machines, lying machines, funny machines, solemn machines. they can no more feel or reason than grandfather clocks."

For that is the whole thrust of this new self-help book. The book's premise is this: all time-management techniques in use now are suspect because they try to stretch and pull us to the tyranny of the clock. What is most important in our lives, however, is not the "clock" at all but the "compass". That is, our life's direction is critical not its speed. Otherwise we become urgency junkies, running hard to keep our places on the conveyor belts that move this "universe".

That is not A-OK, the authors point out, because we are basically "four concentric circles" made up of the physical, the mental, the social and the spiritual. And in the "intersection of the four circles" burns "the fire within". The fire that takes us first to "self-actualization" and then to "self-transcendence".

If you take all that hogwash seriously, it's very unlikely you have got anywhere at all with your life still left to be lived. This is pap for people who were dropped on their heads when they were babies.

But if the mumbo-jumbo philosophising is junk, the book's practical time management tips aren't. The most useful thing the book suggests is to divide everything you have to do, or end up doing, every day into four classes: important-urgent, important-not urgent, not important-urgent and not important-not urgent. Only, the authors draw a grid on the page, so they like to call these four classes "quadrants". Quadrant I is where we go to stay alive; to do all the things that we need to do NOW. Quadrant II is where we must go if life is to have meaning; to think about all the things that are important even if no action is needed right away. Quadrant III is where we slide into deception, mainline on urgency when there is nothing important at stake. Quadrant IV is the Quadrant of Waste where many highly paid managers in Indian companies are marooned; battling with things that are neither necessary nor sufficient for achieving any purpose, whatsoever. The trick is to grow Quadrant II.



But that's what grandma and grandpa told us a lifetime ago And we didn't listen Even Vonnegut didn't obviously. If he had, he wouldn't have written that novel; no, not that *Breakfast of Champions* which ends with the writer's father crying out, after a life wasted over the not-important not-urgent and the not-important urgent: "Make me young, make me young, make me young."

Read this book; it could save you that kind of grief at the end of your life. And since it's 360 Pages-plus, the fact that you could read it at all will show up if you really understood all that neat stuff about Quadrants or not.

Naval B. Ghiara

Clipboard

Cool it

BITTEN to distress by the travel bug, travel. And no traveller's kit is complete these days without the ubiquitous "travel guide" and these guides usually find their way to the market during the peak season. A complement of four books, each with its unique style of presentation, different in some aspects as chalk from cheese, but all designed to woo the traveller, have just surfaced.

Earning pride of place among the four is Shobita Punja's *Great Monuments of India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka* (Odyssey) which is captivating not just for its gloss and sheen but also for its well researched text and for Swedish lensman Fredrik Arvidsson's breathtaking photographs. Very evocatively, they bring to the fore the grandeur and magnificence of a host of historical structures scattered all over the country and the neighbourhood. Adding luster to the expansive study is a useful supplement on 'Travel Information' where the author has passed on several vital tips to the foreign tourist.

Microcosmic in its ambit as compared to the macrocosmic presentation of Punja's work, Percival Spear's *Delhi, its Monuments and History*, updated and annotated by Narayani Gupta and Laura Sykes (Oxford University Press) disappoints mainly because the study is dated, Spear having written it way back in the 40s. Sykes has made a fine effort to present an update on the monuments covered in her 'Afterword' but the striking features of the book are the catchy illustrations by Ripin Kalra.

Inveterate traveller and ace raconteur Philip Ward's *Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Goa* (Penguin India) and *Gujarat, Daman, Diu* (Oleander) are two books in the same genre as the author's earlier works, following a set pattern. The latter scores over the former with its slick presentation and clear pictures. As is his wont, Ward has devoted a good amount of footage to minutiae. He has presented Gujarat, a State that has hardly ever found a place on the Indian tourist map, as a veritable treasure trove of great cultural and historical significance. A common strand that characterises the above works is the painstaking research undertaken by the authors whose keen eye for detail has enabled them to do optimum justice to their chosen subject. What, especially, reveals an uncanny ability to adapt himself to his surroundings. He picks up local dialects and shares his bonhomie with the locals.

In one gigantic sweep the books bring into sharp focus the cultural heritage of a country torn apart with dissent and violence. Of particular poignance are the chapters on Srinagar and Amritsar in Punja's book, the first just beginning to find a place in a tourist's itinerary again and the second striving painfully to return to its pristine glory in the grim aftermath of Operation Bluestar Publishing values apart the books have a great deal to offer not just to foreign tourists but also to the Indian whose knowledge of Indian history is usually a hazy memory from his school and college days

C.V. Aravind

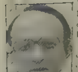
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SWAMINOMICS

SWAMINATHAN S ANKLESARIA AIYAR



When India embarked on its economic reforms in 1991, leftist critics claimed the doors were being opened for the recolonisation of India by a new version of the East India Company. They warned that US multinationals would become instruments of US foreign policy to subjugate India.

During the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao's visit to the US, it became clear that the very opposite was true. US business rose as a man to cheer Mr Rao as a leader who had reformed the biggest democracy in the world and created a national consensus for change. US multinationals saw tremendous prospects in joining with India in a new partnership. They have already poured billions into India in the last year, and see no reason why India should not one day rival China's record of attracting over $ 60 billion of foreign investment per year. And they are going to do their damnest to ensure that the US Administration does not mess up this promising partnership by putting undue pressure on non-commercial matters like human rights and missiles. Far from acting as a tool of US foreign policy, American business is going to act as a lobby for Indian foreign policy. This is the East India Company in reverse.

In past decades, Indian Prime Ministers seemed to believe that long moral lectures could influence the US foreign policy. Their other major plank was third World unity. Both approaches worked up to a point till the 1970s, then decayed, and became pretty useless in the 1980s. The end of the cold war meant India could no longer play off one superpower against the other, and a host of new demands came from the US — on human rights, intellectual property rights, and capping our nuclear and missile programmes.

Many leftists in India denounced this as renewed imperialism in a unipolar world. They suggested that India should band together with other developing countries against the US. But India had already found (in GATT and elsewhere) that other developing countries would rather strike bilateral deals with the US than join hands with India.

Where then was India to look for new allies? Where could it obtain some countervailing power against pressures from the US Administration? The unexpected answer has turned out to be — US investors. It is rightly said that the business of America is business, and all US Administrations view the world through the eyes of multinationals, partly though not wholly. Top members of every administration (including President Clinton's) include people drawn from business. One of Mr Clinton's economic advisers Mr J. Rubin was formerly with Goldman Sachs, an investment company which hopes to funnel billions into India.

The flood of dollars into India in the last year has taken our foreign exchange reserves to over $ 15 billion. This has had another vital foreign policy consequence — it has deprived the US Administration of the leverage it normally enjoys over developing countries in need of aid and trade concessions. In a major recent speech, Senator Lee Hamilton, who dominates the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had castigated India's proposal to deploy the Prithvi missile, and suggested that the US should use its voting power in the IMF and World Bank to pressure India into giving up Prithvi. However, thanks to foreign investment that has poured into India, the country is no longer dependent for dollars on the IMF and World Bank, so this American leverage has disappeared.

India has abandoned its earlier plan to take a new $ 7 billion loan from the IMF, and instead repaid $ 1 13 billion to the IMF ahead of schedule. India has also told the World Bank that it does not want any more fast-disbursing loans (where it gets upfront cash in return for policy changes). Earlier, it had been thought that stiff conditions would be imposed by the IMF and Bank before giving fast-disbursing loans. Now that there are to be no such loans, there will be no conditions either.

Indeed, at a recent board meeting of the World Bank in preparation for the coming meeting of the Aid India Consortium, the governors stressed the importance of keeping India as a major client, and said that too many conditions should not be attached to loans for different sectors. They felt it was more important to support India's efforts with cash than try to influence it with conditions.

These are the phenomenal advantages that flow when a country is in a position of financial strength. What has given India this new strength? Its new rapport with foreign investors. By making itself attractive for foreign investment, by convincing the biggest corporations of the world that it is abandoning its self imposed isolation and becoming part of the global economy, India is suddenly neck-deep in dollars.

The US will not abandon pressures on India in strategic matters and human rights. However, India is now in a much stronger position to resist such pressure, and is developing powerful allies in the form of US businessmen.

Screen-based trading set

With mock trading in debt market about to commence at the National Stock Exchange in Worli next week, screen-trading is making a long-awaited debut in India, says Vithal C. Nadkarni

WITH 64,000 bits of information flowing down per second on the telephone line, the loudest noise in the National Stock Exchange (NSE) demonstration room at Worli is the clicking of a computer mouse.

If you prefer louder options, there is the computer keyboard. No need to lose your voice in a madding crowd in the trading ring. Just press the F1 key and you are ready to buy: enter the price and the number of shares you want in the window that has appeared on your screen. Press F2 if you want to sell.

Your offer to buy or sell is matched with the best counter-option by the NSE's massive mainframe computer. The transaction is instantly reported back on the screens along with a unique number. The printout also bears the time of the transaction.

Compared to the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) which is a 120-year-old Methuselah, the NSE is a mere infant, conceived barely one-and-a-half-years ago. It will, however, eventually integrate the entire national securities market. It thus represents the vision of the future. "Unlike the BSE which is owned by the brokers and run by the brokers, the NSE is run by professionals," says the NSE managing director, Dr R H Patil. He also likens the NSE's role to that of an umpire who makes sure that everyone plays the game fairly, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the law.

Conceptually, the NSE design is different from that proposed by the Pherwani committee. The Pherwani report submitted in June 1991 laid emphasis on smaller scrips and retail trade in the debt market, particularly that of the corporate entities. "By contrast, the NSE's emphasis will be on the wholesale debt market in first class securities," says Dr Patil. "With regard to enquities, the NSE's emphasis will be on shares which have national interest; which means equities of large companies with the potential for high liquidity."

The NSE's Rs 30-crore first phase of screen-trading has taken off in a record time of a year after it was initiated. The Hong Kong-based International Securities Consultants helped in design, preparation of the tender documents and in quality testing. Tata Consultancy Services served as systems integrators.

The order-driven software was procured from the U.S.-based TCAM Corp to run on Stratus computers.



The Rs 40-crore second phase, which uses very small aperture terminals (V-SATs) to beam signals off and from two transponders on the INSAT-2B satellite, will use terminals supplied by the Israeli Gilate Corp. The satellite communications systems are to be provided by GTE and the swtiches by Motorola. MTNL is providing the leased high-speed lines for the first phase. Dish antennae, not earthed cables, are needed for the second phase.

What does all this mean to the user, one of the 90-odd members registered with the NSE? "All he requires is a standard 386-based PC at its most basic configuration," says Mr Ravi Narain, NSE's deputy managing director. "He or she will also need a small icon card which we provide to connect to the telecom part of the network; this costs Rs 20,000 to Rs 25,000.

"Then there is the connectivity. For a leased line this works out to Rs 4 lakhs per annum per member. You can attach more than one terminal and have an internal LAN and so on, up to 50 km, MTNL charges Rs 4 lakhs per year. For a little more than that we will probably be able to install the V-Sats. But if you go from Bombay to Delhi, a leased line costs something like Rs 12 lakhs."

In terms of running costs, satellite connectivity is far cheaper than terrestrial cabling. Moreover, geographical location does not matter because the satellite provides the same access to someone in Cochin as that given to a person right outside the NSE. Moreover, it dovetails with the NSE's objective of national integration, enabling brokers stationed in any part of the country to buy or sell any security. It will also even out the playing field: when the NSE moves on its V-SAT system, brokers in different parts of the country can band together to install small dish antennae to hook into the NSE's main one.

How does NSE's computerised network compared with that of BSE? The BSE's follows a phased or a gradualist approach. By contrast, the NSE's model shows how differently one can do the same transactions. Without making assumptions about technology friendliness, it provides facilities with an ease, speed and transparency unimagined (or resisted) earlier. For instance, press F3 and you get your outstanding order position, press F4 and you get market watch, F5 gives the market analysis by order size, F7 gives you your order log and F8 your previous trades and so on.

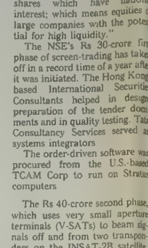
"It is technology which allows you to change the framework and the paradigm completely," says Mr Narain. "Without it, it would have been impossible to provide these kinds of facilities to every investor in the country. Now, it all seems much more doable, faster cheaper."

As you go on playing with the stocks on the NSE's dummy run on the screen, you recall the word of the late chairman Mao. "Power flows," he had said, "from the barrel of a gun." These days a more potent sort of power seems to be flowing out of a telephone line hooked up to a computer. The changes it is bringing in are no less revolutionary than those brought in at gunpoint.

PSUs 'can outbid foreign firms

For decades he was the quintessential civil servant of the "steel frame", till he arrived in Bombay and bared his claws as the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI). An IAS officer of the Andhra Pradesh cadre, Mr G V Ramakrishna was Union petroleum secretary and India's ambassador to the European Commission at Brussels.

Moving from SEBI "hot seat" to the relative tranquility of Yojana Bhavan, as member (energy) in the Planning Commission, Mr Ramakrishna is back to stirring the hornet's nest. He has emerged a vocal critic of the policy on private foreign investment in power, battling against the Oman gas deal and supporting PSU management in their demand for a "level playing field". Mr Ramakrishna talks to our economics editor ***Sanjaya Baru.***



Mr G. V. Ramakrishna

There is a view that the Planning Commission has been marginalised in economic policy making. What accounts for this?

I have heard it said that after the new economic policy was launched, the Planning Commission has lost credibility externally and has an identity crisis internally. One need not agree with that wholly for even now there is a role for the commission.

Recently you have brought the commission into public focus by suggesting alternatives to the existing policy on private investment in power and by demanding a "level playing field" for the public sector.

On power policy, I have projected my views as member in charge of energy and these are not the views of the commission as a whole. I have been advocating competitive bidding, transparency and no sovereign guarantee in awarding investment opportunities to foreigners. Perhaps my views have come too late but we have to review this policy and think of linking generators directly to consumers on a commercial basis.

What can be done now short of reversing what the government has already announced?

Even now, while giving counter guarantees, we should keep the option open for the government to link the generators with the credible consumers directly, and progressively reduce the guarantee. That is possible even now. There will be consumers who will be prepared to give acceptable bank guarantees, once the power generation begins, and can be linked directly to power generators. Second, I think it is possible to reduce the power shortage even now with existing capacity if we give greater attention to efficiency in generation and distribution and to power pricing.

Another subject of controversy recently has been the decision to import gas from Oman and Iran for fuelling power stations in India. Is this an economically feasible project?

I am concerned that we have not paid enough attention to the investment required for utilising offshore gas. We are rushing with this project without considering what happens to the gas once it enters the country. You require investment in on-land pipelines, in power stations and so on. Any entity investing in the pipeline will do so only if there are purchasers for the gas. Power will be purchased if the price is reasonable. If demand is not properly established the investor will hesitate to put his money. It would be a leap in the dark if we went ahead and signed an agreement with Oman on the purchase of the gas before all these issues are sorted out.

We have asked for an independent feasibility report on the pipeline project and I think we should wait for it before committing ourselves to buying the gas. I am afraid we are offering guarantees without doing all the necessary homework. In fact, a sovereign guarantee has become necessary because of the lack of homework. A guarantee is a transfer of the market risk to the government. This goes against the spirit of liberalisation.

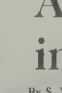
You have been demanding a "level playing field" for public sector undertakings. What exactly do you want?

Indian PSUs, especially in

(Continued on Page 17)

Are the states intransigent?

By S. Venkitaramanan



Deutsche Bank has been in the news recently. Sticky loans to a real estate dealer, Mr Schneider have caused a hefty loss to the bank although we are assured that the bank's capital base is still strong and can weather the recent storm. Talking of Deutsche Bank, I recall a lunch meeting I had with Ms Al Cartilleri, a powerful member of the board of Deutsche Bank at Frankfurt around 1988. Mr Cartilleri, a true friend of India, had supported us over the years and through troublesome times.

Conversation turned to the then persistent complaint that bureaucracy in India required too many clearances before industries could start operating. I told him how we were trying to work out fast track and single window clearances. The need for many of these clearances arose because of social concerns such as environment, labour laws, health regulations and factory safety.

Mr Cartilleri set me at ease with a remark which summed up the problem. We were in the new building of the Deutsche Bank and across the road was the old building which had housed the headquarters earlier. He said. "I know when we built this new tower, we had to get ten times as many clearances as when we built the earlier building." He said he understood the need of clearances, but what he tried to transmit was the concern of German entrepreneurs about the time taken in obtaining them and the tendency to be sent from pillar-to-post.

Much has happened since then and the fast track is indeed the chosen track so far as Delhi is concerned. However, one hears legitimate complaints about how the reform which has started at the Centre has stopped at the level of states. We have to distinguish between the requirements of Central clearances in the earlier era, which have now been dispensed with, and the state approvals that are needed, liberalisation or no liberalisation.

The cutting edge of environmental policies on the need [illegible]

[illegible] industrialisation. Under [illegible] Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, have since long adopted, what later was known as a single window approach.

It was not unusual for an imaginative minister of industry, like Mr R. Venkataraman, to send for prospective industrialists and urge them to start new industrial units. He would then assign responsibility for various clearances to a group of senior government officials to ensure that all bottlenecks were removed and in time.

Many were the initially reluctant entrepreneurs, persuaded by R.V. to set up industry on his assurance that local and even Central clearances would not be a problem.

Gujarat went one step further. It had developed an escort service, so to say, which ensured that all bottlenecks, both state and Central, were "dissolved". Maharashtra is another instance of a state government which set up SICOM, which was essentially a venture capital company of the state government. U.P. also set up PICUP, which was behind the spurt of new industries which came up in the '80s in the state.

State bureaucracies have been at the forefront in initiating new forms of corporate organisation, such as the joint sector, to combine the benefit of the state support as well as the initiative of the private sector.

The refrain one hears from the industry associations about the states being unwilling to co-operate with the liberalisation movement [illegible] Inevitably, in a large country there are some states which are ahead of others. Leaving aside the laggards, each state tries to position itself ahead of the other by offering incentives, fast track clearances and assistance with the Centre processes. We should recognise that the problem of so-called state level obstructionism arises not because of lack of understanding of the impulses of liberalisation, but mainly because of constraints arising from scarce resources, such as land, water and power. For instance, land assignments are necessarily an intrusion into some existing rights either of government or of current occu[illegible]

(Continued on Page 17)

GATT may score self-goal

By Sharad Joshi



TOO much of a good thing can be bad and the best can be the enemy of the good. The agenda of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is expanding so fast that it may soon become too inclusive and defeat itself by nullifying all its good work.

The Uruguay Round of talks started as a prosaic exercise in the arithmetic of trade barriers. The scope of the talks widened to include agricultural trade, trans-border investments, exchange of services and finally trade-related intellectual property rights.

In between the approval of the draft on December 15, 1993 and the final ceremonial signature at Marrakesh, social issues like condition of labour, environment and human rights were brought on the agenda. The newly-constituted World Trade Organisation (WTO) would, it appears, cover increasingly vast areas and enter deeper levels of detail in the years to come. Membership of the comity of trading nations is going to be linked with certain eligibility conditions that may become increasingly stringent and may be less than respectful of the 19th century ideas of sovereignty.

The Uruguay talks started with the objective of minimising the distortions caused by state intervention. The agenda to contain the mischievous state is now attempting to encourage statist initiatives to promote not only marketism but also certain normative social objectives.

There is a certain incompatibility between these two sets of objectives. A market system presupposes a government whose business is to govern and not to do business. Ideally, a marketist government would leave even functions like regulation of money supply, credit control and interest rates to an autonomous institution free from all state influence.

Can a government of marketist type be expected to pursue an activist programme of boosting wage rates so that they become comparable to those in more advanced countries? Leaving aside the patent absurdity of the notion of equality of wage rates between countries whose per capita income differs by as much as 60 times, the question that remains to be answered is whether it is good for a government to be intervening in the labour market to hike the general wage level. A further question that follows is, can a government that is interventionist in the labour market be marketist in the international trade?

Similarly, can a government, which is activist in the field of trade related environment, be kept in restraint so that it does not become interventionist in other trade related areas?

The activist/marketist duality in the line pursued by Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao and Dr Manmohan Singh has given rise to considerable wonderment and remark. How does a government pursue policies of liberalisation and globalisation on the one hand and programmes of social welfare promoting health, education, employment, etc, on the other? This kind of duality is imposed evidently by practical political considerations.

The awesome bureaucratic apparatus built up over half a century of Nehruvian regime is a tar-baby politically difficult to get rid of. The liberalisation has over three years, brought no reduction in either the size of the cost of the governmental establishment. In fact, some 40,000 new posts are reported to have been created in the Central government during 1993-94 alone and a new pay commission appointed despite massive budgetary and fiscal deficits.

The politicians have over decades developed a not inconsiderable interest in the license-permit racket that is difficult to shake off. Indian industry crippled by half a century of corrupt and bungling protection is reluctant to stand on its own feet. To be politically feasible, the change-over from the Nehruvian to the marketist model will require luxuriously upholstered security-nets for the industrialist, the organised labour as also other beneficiaries of governmental subsidies and largesse.

This explains the articulation of a "middle way" by the Prime Minister who boasted only three years ago that he was a "pro-changer" and not a "no-changer". The fact that all political parties, including his own, are wary, if not scared, of freedom and that there is no organised demand within the country for move towards marketism splits Mr Rao into a Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde duality.

It is more difficult to understand why the U.S. president is prescribing statist intervention and socio-economic about-turn after having fought socialism and state controls over half a century of Cold War? How come America that preached free economy and virtues of capitalism to the Third World countries is suddenly expecting them to take quick and decisive action at state level to bring about certain reforms that the U.S. considers desirable? What makes the US go to the extreme limit of threatening reappraisal of trade relations and punitive measures in case of deficient performance? This sudden transformation in U.S. policy and the duality, if not the duplicity, of the American stance has passed almost uncommented.

Mr Bill Clinton and Mr Narasimha Rao are sailing in the same boat in this respect — two opposite ends of the same boat, perhaps. Mr Rao, wants some opening on to a free market; Mr Clinton, having preached the virtues of capitalism, finds that a free market can be an awkward and difficult thing even for the richest country of the world.

At the beginning of Uruguay talks, the predominant American concern was the widening trade gap with Japan and European Economic Community countries, particularly Germany. Comfortably lodged behind highly protectionist fortifications, Japan and Germany have been sitting much prettier than they would have been even if they had come out triumphant in the Second World War. Throughout the Uruguay exercise, the U.S. was preoccupied with the threat of the former axis powers to the Amer

(Continued on Page 17)

BHARAT SPEAKS

DIFFERENT STROKES

No run here: While the other states are shopping for investments within the country, the Prime Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao's home state of Andhra Pradesh is .busy doublespeaking. The Andhra Pradesh chief minister, Mr Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy, recently assured everybody in general that he would solve the severe power shortage in the state in seven days flat. Two days later, the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board officials were heard muttering darkly that power will continue to be rarely available till 2000 A.D.! The board is functioning at an unbelievably high production deficit of 50 per cent. Andhra Pradesh, any takers?

Ban the banks: It was bound to happen — the building up of public resentment against the constant harassing strikes by bank employees. Finally, the Shetkari Sanghathana led by Mr Sharad Joshi has launched an organised movement to express its resentment. Starting this week, residents of the Rajura taluka in Chandrapur district will withdraw their savings from any bank which goes on strike and whose management makes no attempt to keep basic banking facilities going.

The real thing: If the multinationals seem set to have a clean sweep over the ice-cream market, they are at it in the ice-cream business as well. Except that the Unilever brand will have to convince ice-cream lovers that its vegetable oil-based product is as good as real cream. There are some who say that its financial muscle and its flavour/price range is what will sweep the competition away. But ice-cream fans insist that it has won the taste battle as well. It remains to be seen if the sales graph moves up with the mercury or people will insist on the real thing.

Hardsell on stock: Whoever said that stock market operations mean dry and colourless business? The exponential growth of the financial markets with new exchanges coming up portends active competition among stock markets in wooing corporate bodies, investors and brokers. This has induced the Cochin Stock Exchange to indulge in [illegible] bringing out a 'corporate brochure' splashed with [illegible] photographs, figures and facts positioning itself as the perfect financial supermarket. The brochure projects the exchange as [illegible] automated and professionally managed liquid market. Seems it is time for the popular and well-known but increasingly illiquid and controversy-ridden exchanges to wake up to reality.

(Contributed by Krishna Murthy Andavolu, Sucheta Dalal and S. Somasekhar)





ಎಐಸಿಸಿ ಅಧಿವೇಶನಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಮುಂಬಯಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇಲಂತಸ್ತಿನ ಬಳಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿರುವ ಸುಮಾರು ೫೦,೦೦೦ ಜನರು ಕೂಡಬಹುದಾದಷ್ಟು ವಿಶಾಲ ಪೆಂಡಾಲ್



ಎ.ಒ. ಹ್ಯೂಮ್



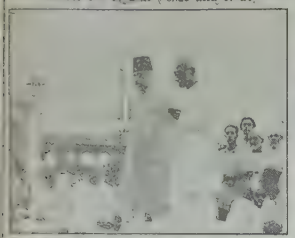
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ದಾದಾಭಾಯಿ ನವರೋಜಿ



ಬದ್ರುದ್ದೀನ್ ತ್ಯಬ್ಜಿ

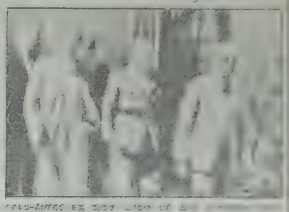




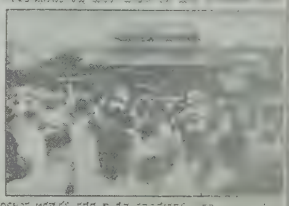
೧೯೪೭ ಆಗಸ್ಟ್ ೧೫ರ ಮಧ್ಯರಾತ್ರಿ, ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಾಗ್ರ ಫಲಾಪಾ ಮಾಬಲೆಯ ಸಭೆಯನ್ನುದ್ದೇಶಿಸಿ ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಪಂಡಿತ ನೆಹರು.



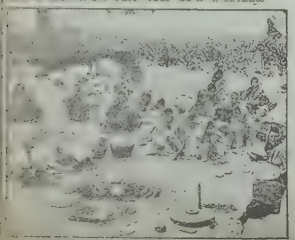
ರಾಜಾಜಿ, ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರಸಾದ್, ನೆಹರು, ಪಟೇಲ್, ಸರದಾರ ಪಟೇಲ್ ಅವರಿದ ಮತ್ತು ಕೃಪಲಾನಿ



೧೯೪೦-೪೧ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹಾತ್ಮ ಗಾಂಧಿ ಅವರ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಗ್ರಹ ಚಳವಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸಿದ್ದ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಮುಖಂಡರು ಮತ್ತು ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರು



೧೯೪೨ ಆಗಸ್ಟ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಕಾಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಮಾವೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳು



ಬಂಧನಕ್ಕೆ ಮುನ್ನಾದಿನ ಸಿಗರೇಟು ಸೇದುತ್ತಾ ಕುಳಿತಿರುವ ಗಾಂಧಿ

ದಾಸ್ಯವಿಮೋಚನೆ ಚಳವಳಿಯ ನೇತಾರರು

Proclamation.

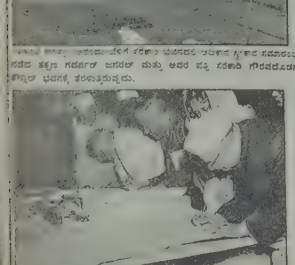
Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal in spite of the universal protest of the Bengali nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our Province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So help us God

Dated this First day of November in the year Nineteen Hundred and Five and given under

ಬಂಗಾಳ ವಿಭಜನೆಯ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಹೊರಡಿಸಲಾದ ಘೋಷಣೆ

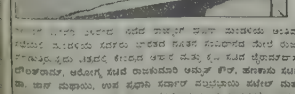


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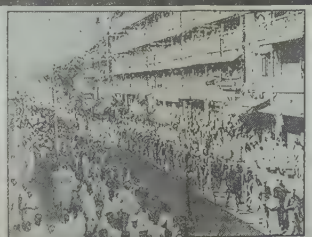
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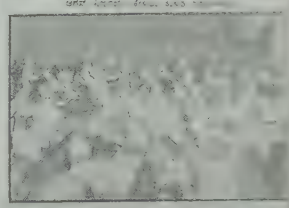
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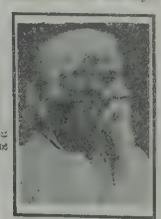
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ರಘುನಾಥ ನರಸಿಂಹ ಮುಧೋಳಕರ



೧೯೪೭ ಜೂನ್ ೧೫ರಂದು ನಡೆದ ಎಐಸಿಸಿ ಅಧಿವೇಶನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಖಂಡ ಭಾರತದ ವಿಭಜನೆಯ ನಿರ್ಣಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂಕಿತ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಿರುವ ಜವಾಹರಲಾಲ್ ನೆಹರು



ದೇಶಭಕ್ತ ಗುರುದೇವ ರಾನಡೆಯವರು.



ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಮಹಿಳಾ ಸಭೆ



ಮಾನ ಅಮ್ಮಲ್ ಗಫೂರಖಾನ್



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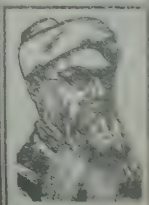
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ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮ: ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಗತಿ







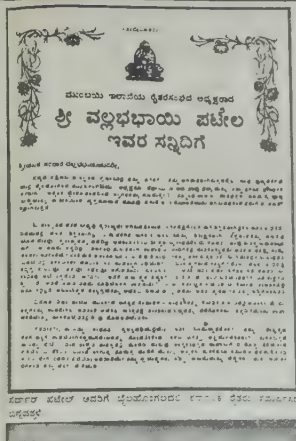
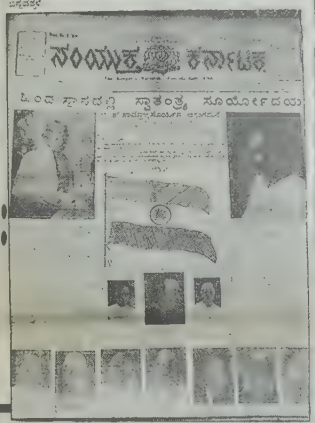


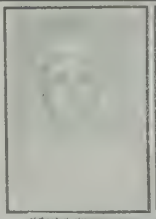








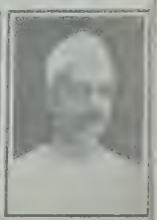



















ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ಯ ಹೋರಾಟದ ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಘಟ್ಟಗಳು

ಗಣನೀಯ ಸಾಧನೆ

೧೯೬೨-೬೪ರ ಅವಧೀಸಲು ಪಕ್ಷಿಕ್ಷಿಪ್ರಪಿಡಿಗೆ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯು ಜನರಲಿ ಭದ್ರಮಾತ್ರು ಪ್ರಭುವಾದ ವಲಯ ನಿಸ್ಪಾತ್ರು, ಪಕ್ಷಂದರೆ ಪ್ರಾತಿಕಾಯ ವಿಧಾನಸಭೆಗಳ ಬಲ್ಲು ಗಣನೀಯ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳ. ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಒಗ್ಗ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳು ದೊರಕಿದ್ದಾವು. ಮದ್ರಾಸ್, ಬಿಹಾರ್, ಒಡಿಸ್ಸಾ ಮದ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶ ಹಾಗೂ ಉತ್ತರ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ ಬಹುಮತ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದರೆ ಮುಂಬಯಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮತಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಬಿಡಿತ್ತು. ಗಂಧ್ರ, ಬಂಗಾಲ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ನಾಧ್ಯ ಗಣನೀಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಪಂಜಿತ್ತು ಬಿಗಗಳು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಬಹುಮತ ಪಡೆಯಲು ವಿಚಿತ್ರವೆನೂ ಮುಖ್ಯವೆ ಪಕ್ಷಬಲ್ಲ ಇರುವಲ್ಲಿ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ಸಗಣ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ಸಗಣ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಮುಖ್ಯಂಗಿಗಿ ಇದ್ದ ಅಲ್ಪ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೫೦ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಪಾಲಿಲ್ಲಿ ಗೆದ್ದಿತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪಾ ಎಂದರೆ ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಲೀಗಿಗೂ ಮಹಿಳಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಹಾಗೂ ಹಿಂದೂ ಮಹಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ರಚಿಸಿತ್ತು ಸಿಂಧ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಆಫ್ಘಾನ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್‌ಗೆ ಸಾಧನ ರಾತ್ರುಯಾಯಿತು. ಅವು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಬೆಂಬಲ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ್ದವು.

ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರಕಾರಗಳ ಕ್ಷೀಣವಾದ ನಂತರ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಭೋಗ್ಯ ಬಲಪಂಥೀಯವಿತ್ತು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆ ಕ್ಷೀಣಗಳ ಮಾಯಗಳ ಅಮಲು ಸಿಒಗಾಲಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಿಂತಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಯಿತು. ಇವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಲಂಡಿಯವರು ಸಾಗರ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಮೆಯಿಯಾಯಿತು. ಕೃಷಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕ ರಂಗ ಪುನರ್ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗೊಳಪಟ್ಟವು.

ಅಯಾಗ್ಯ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸರಕಾರ ಸಂಪ್ರಾಯಗಳು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಚಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಮಾಣಿಯರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಒಂದು ಮಾತು ನಿಜ, ಈಗಿನ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕಿಡಿಮಣಿ ರಂಗದ ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಗಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಪಾರವಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆಗಳ ಸಿಂಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅವರು ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಒಂದು ಮಾತು ನಿಜ, ಈಗಿನ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕಿಡಿಮಣಿ ರಂಗದ ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಗಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಪಾರವಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆಗಳ ಸಿಂಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅವರು ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ಸಗಣ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಮುಖ್ಯಂಗಿಗಿ ಇದ್ದ ಅಲ್ಪ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೫೦ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಪಾಲಿಲ್ಲಿ ಗೆದ್ದಿತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪಾ ಎಂದರೆ ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಲೀಗಿಗೂ ಮಹಿಳಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಹಾಗೂ ಹಿಂದೂ ಮಹಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ರಚಿಸಿತ್ತು ಸಿಂಧ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಆಫ್ಘಾನ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್‌ಗೆ ಸಾಧನ ರಾತ್ರುಯಾಯಿತು. ಅವು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಬೆಂಬಲ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ್ದವು.

ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರಕಾರಗಳ ಕ್ಷೀಣವಾದ ನಂತರ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಭೋಗ್ಯ ಬಲಪಂಥೀಯವಿತ್ತು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆ ಕ್ಷೀಣಗಳ ಮಾಯಗಳ ಅಮಲು ಸಿಒಗಾಲಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಿಂತಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಯಿತು. ಇವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಲಂಡಿಯವರು ಸಾಗರ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಮೆಯಿಯಾಯಿತು. ಕೃಷಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕ ರಂಗ ಪುನರ್ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗೊಳಪಟ್ಟವು.

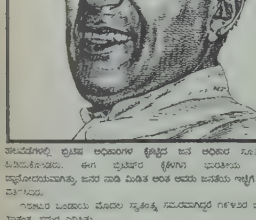
ಅಯಾಗ್ಯ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸರಕಾರ ಸಂಪ್ರಾಯಗಳು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಚಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಮಾಣಿಯರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಒಂದು ಮಾತು ನಿಜ, ಈಗಿನ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕಿಡಿಮಣಿ ರಂಗದ ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಗಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಪಾರವಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆಗಳ ಸಿಂಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅವರು ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ಸಗಣ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಮುಖ್ಯಂಗಿಗಿ ಇದ್ದ ಅಲ್ಪ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೫೦ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಪಾಲಿಲ್ಲಿ ಗೆದ್ದಿತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪಾ ಎಂದರೆ ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಲೀಗಿಗೂ ಮಹಿಳಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಹಾಗೂ ಹಿಂದೂ ಮಹಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ರಚಿಸಿತ್ತು ಸಿಂಧ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಆಫ್ಘಾನ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್‌ಗೆ ಸಾಧನ ರಾತ್ರುಯಾಯಿತು. ಅವು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಬೆಂಬಲ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ್ದವು.

ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರಕಾರಗಳ ಕ್ಷೀಣವಾದ ನಂತರ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಭೋಗ್ಯ ಬಲಪಂಥೀಯವಿತ್ತು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆ ಕ್ಷೀಣಗಳ ಮಾಯಗಳ ಅಮಲು ಸಿಒಗಾಲಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಿಂತಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಯಿತು. ಇವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಲಂಡಿಯವರು ಸಾಗರ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಮೆಯಿಯಾಯಿತು. ಕೃಷಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕ ರಂಗ ಪುನರ್ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗೊಳಪಟ್ಟವು.

ಅಯಾಗ್ಯ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸರಕಾರ ಸಂಪ್ರಾಯಗಳು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಚಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಮಾಣಿಯರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.



ನೆಲದೊಳಗಿಲ್ಲಿ ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಚಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಕೈಕ್ಷಿಪ್ತದ ಜನ ಅರಿಬಿದ ಸಂತ್ರಳಗಳು ಮಾನ ಬಿದ್ದಿರುವುದು. ಈಗ ಭ್ರಷ್ಟರ ಕೈಕೆಗಳು ಪಾರಾಗಿಯು ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜಾಸ್ತಿಗೊಳಿಸಲಾಯಿತು. ಜನರಿಂದ ಅಯಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅವರು ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ಸಗಣ್ಯವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಮುಖ್ಯಂಗಿಗಿ ಇದ್ದ ಅಲ್ಪ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೫೦ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಪಾಲಿಲ್ಲಿ ಗೆದ್ದಿತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪಾ ಎಂದರೆ ಈ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಲೀಗಿಗೂ ಮಹಿಳಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಹಾಗೂ ಹಿಂದೂ ಮಹಾಸಭೆಗೂ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆ ರಚಿಸಿತ್ತು ಸಿಂಧ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಆಫ್ಘಾನ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್‌ಗೆ ಸಾಧನ ರಾತ್ರುಯಾಯಿತು. ಅವು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಬೆಂಬಲ ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ್ದವು.

ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸರಕಾರಗಳ ಕ್ಷೀಣವಾದ ನಂತರ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಭೋಗ್ಯ ಬಲಪಂಥೀಯವಿತ್ತು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆ ಕ್ಷೀಣಗಳ ಮಾಯಗಳ ಅಮಲು ಸಿಒಗಾಲಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಿಂತಿಕೆಯಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಯಿತು. ಇವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಲಂಡಿಯವರು ಸಾಗರ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಮೆಯಿಯಾಯಿತು. ಕೃಷಿ ಹಾಗೂ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕ ರಂಗ ಪುನರ್ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗೊಳಪಟ್ಟವು.

ಅಯಾಗ್ಯ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸರಕಾರ ಸಂಪ್ರಾಯಗಳು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟಚಾರ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಮಾಣಿಯರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಅಸಮಾಧಾನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ಸಿಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು.

ಒಂದು ಮಾತು ನಿಜ, ಈಗಿನ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕಿಡಿಮಣಿ ರಂಗದ ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಗಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಪಾರವಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಅಪ್ಪಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಬೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳೆಗಳ ಅವರು ಖಂಗ್ರೆಸ್ ಸಾಧನೆಗಳ ಸಿಂಪ

ಹುತಾತ್ಮ ಮೈಲಾರ ಮಹದೇವಪ್ಪ

ಭಾರತದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮ ಗಾಂಧಿಗಿಂತ ಜಯ ನಾಯಕತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಅನೇ ಒಂದು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕತೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದೆ.

ಬಹುಜನ ನಾಯಕರು ಭಾರತದ ನಾಯಿ ಈ ಆಂತರಿಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೀಠಾರೋಹಿಸಿ ಸಮಾಜವು ದಮ್ಮು ಕಾರ್ಯಕರ್ತರು ಒಂದು ಸಂಘರ್ಷವೇ ಬೆ ದೇಶದ ಆ ಒಂದಾಗಿ ಧೈರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಸಂಗೊ ದೇಶದ ಒಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಸುಗ್ರವಾಯ ಇವರು. ಗಾಂಧಿ ವಿಚ್ಛಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಮಹದೇವಪ್ಪ ಮೈಲಾರ

ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯಾಗಿರಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯಾಗಿರಲಿ ಮಹಿಳೆಯರ ಮೇಲೆ ಅನ್ಯಾಯ ಅತ್ಯಾಚಾರಗಳು ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಲೇ ಇದ್ದವು. ಇಂಥ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಮಾನ ಕಾಪಾಡಲು ಹೋರಾಡಿದ ಅನೇಕ ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಂಥವರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಲಾರ ಮಹದೇವಪ್ಪ ಒಬ್ಬರು. ಇವರು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು ಮೈಲಾರ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ. ಇವರ ತಂದೆ ಹೆಸರು ಮಾದಪ್ಪ. ತಾಯಿ ಹೆಸರು ಮಾದಮ್ಮ. ಇವರು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು ೧೮೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿ. ಇವರ ಕುಟುಂಬ ಕೃಷಿಯನ್ನೇ ಅವಲಂಬಿಸಿತ್ತು. ಇವರ ಕುಟುಂಬ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಶ್ರೀಮಂತವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಇವರ ಕುಟುಂಬಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಸಾಕಷ್ಟು ಜಮೀನು ಇ

THE TIMES OF INDIA
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A Thought for Today

One of the drawbacks of fame is that one can never escape from it
— NELLIE MELBA

Farewell, Our Lovely

"Ah, what avails the sceptred race!/ Ah, what the form divine!/ What every virtue, every grace!/ Rose Aylmer, all were thine." These words of the Walter Savage Landor, inscribed on the crumbling tombstone of a young Englishwoman buried in an old Calcutta cemetery bear well-known witness to the unintended victims of empire, the women and children who were swept along in the imperial wake to meet untimely ends by disease and a host of other misadventures in far flung, foreign lands. More than a century after Rose Aylmer's passing — allegedly brought on by a "surfeit of pineapples" — many parts of the world today prepare to mourn the final laying to rest of another ill-starred young woman — broken icon of an empire that has ebbed away from everywhere but an enduring popular imagination — who could be said to have died of a surfeit of paparazzi. Diana, Princess of Hearts as headline writers eulogised her, reigns, in death even more than in life, over a transnational emotional terrain far in excess of the British empire in its heyday. The 'fairy tale' wedding of Diana and Charles was televised to 39 million viewers, 16 years later her funeral has tragically upstaged that happy event. Footage of the last rites will reach 2.4 billion spectators in 187 countries. Never has a death exercised greater dominion. Like Evita Peron but on a far larger scale, Diana has already been reborn in a mythic avatar. As millions in countries far afield as Japan, Russia, Africa and America congregate to pay their last homage she is in jeopardy of prime time canonisation. Mourners in London claim to have seen her spectral image, and more than one anguished acolyte has committed suicide in an access of near religious frenzy.

The edge of grief has been sharpened by anger. The paparazzi and the tabloid press have been assailed as the indirect agents of her doom. The British royal family has been accused of callous neglect of Diana, both in life and in death, a charge that could cast a long shadow over the increasingly uncertain future of the monarchy. That the queen has cut short her stay in Scotland to make a public address to express solidarity in sorrow with the country is seen as a forced gesture which is both too little and too late. Spontaneous and inevitable as such recriminations may be, it would be appropriate to debate them at a later, less emotion-charged date. The counter views — that Diana made as much use of the publicity machine as it made of her, and that the royal family had but little option, for the sake of preserving its role as the safeguard of tradition, to close ranks against her increasingly demotic appeal — miss an essential point. The real tragedy of the drama on which the curtain ceremoniously falls today lies in that the players involved seemed to have pre-ordained parts over which they had little or no control. In the course of the much-publicised BBC television interview after the failure of her marital relationship, Diana confessed that the marriage had got "crowded" in that it had to accommodate three people, an obvious reference to Ms Camilla Parker-Bowles. This was an understatement; from its inception the marriage had to accommodate many millions who vicariously lived their fantasies through it. Even film stars and sports legends have never been subjected to such relentless limelight. Diana seemed to have been created for the purpose of being famous — never more so than on the day of her funeral. That is the irony which today should haunt both believer and sceptic. Like nature, or royalty, fame too abhors a vacuum. Diana is dead; long live another.

Star Wars

The CBI's case against the CEO of Star TV, Mr Rathikant Basu, may be "fool proof" as claimed by the agency, but the timing of the move is likely to raise eyebrows. Coming as it does soon after Star TV took legal action on the issue of Direct-to-Home (DTH) television, the reopening of cases could be interpreted as a personal vendetta by Mandi House mandarins against a former bureaucrat who was seduced by the lure of lucre. The enthusiasm with which a series of cases against several top executives of Star TV is being pursued could also end up sending wrong signals to other international players who are at present merely testing the waters. However, in asking to be the first to start the digital TV facility in India, indeed, even before the proposed regulatory framework is in place, Star has shown itself to be overeager to grab the strategic slot. Star's headhunting of senior bureaucrats and intelligence officers also suggests that it is laying the ground for future lobbying. Such questionable recruitment in a sensitive sector could not have taken place but for the absence of adequate regulatory mechanisms. Though the Broadcast Bill is being debated in a parliamentary select committee, it is anybody's guess when it will turn into legislation. This dithering, equally evident in the official handling of the Prasar Bharati Act, is unlikely to help the government in this age of accelerating technological innovation.

The Prasar Bharati Act, slated to come into effect on September 30, was mooted in the late 1970s to ensure autonomy for Doordarshan and AIR. In the case of the Broadcast Bill, it has taken the government years after the introduction of satellite TV to awaken to the need for a regulatory authority for this sector. Even this thanks to a 1995 Supreme Court ruling that the airwaves belong to the public and not, to the state. Meanwhile, almost everyone affected by the Bill is up in arms. While the cable operators are opposed to DTH, the satellite stations object to mandatory uplinking from this country. All this while the consumer is being subjected to a plethora of mediocre programmes dished out in a marketplace totally devoid of free and fair competition and exploited by cable companies which run on outdated screwdriver technology. The most fierce battles, both in the analogue and digital markets, are being fought by the big players who have inexhaustible resources and tremendous lobbying power. The Murdoch-owned Star TV, perhaps the most formidable of the lot, is reportedly devising strategies, both fair and unfair, for cornering the market. Mr Murdoch — with his range of ASkyB, BSkyB and JSkyB in the US, Britain and Japan respectively — is a veteran in this game of the larger fish eating the smaller. As matters stands, the dream project of digital television seems to have become a distant possibility with the government and Star TV locking horns on this issue. It is a territorial star war between a public monopoly and a private monopoly, ironically on a turf which was supposed to expand under free market competition.

Ape-man and Essence

In these politically correct days, the thoroughly modern Barbie doll may don, by turns, the professional dentist's dress, the university campus cheerleader's togs, an Elvis Presley uniform or a dainty sweatshirt for a "gym workout". For some, the childhood role models and myth-heroes Batman, Superman, Captain Marvel have similarly been updated, fluecured and domesticated for the '90s. It was only a matter of time before that timeless "Tarzan, the ape-man" would be readied and outfitted for the 21st century, his Jane rendered less helpless and less peril-prone, and computers provide exotic virtual jungle thrills where Hollywood might fear to tread. It is still a jungle out there. It was in 1912 that Edgar Rice Burroughs wrote two novels of sheer fantasy. One was *Tarzan, the ape-man*, describing the adventures of an abandoned child of an English nobleman, brought up in the rain-forests by apes. The other was *The Princess from Mars*, an interplanetary romance where Burroughs "went boldly forth, where no man had gone before", like Roddenberry of *Star Trek*. In the event, Tarzan mesmerised four generations but the martian space romance had to bide its time. Burroughs wrote 25 more novels in the Tarzan genre and the reticent ape-man found a place in the dictionaries of over 50 languages and plots of 40 uneven films. Burroughs believed that "of all creatures that inhabit the earth, only man derives pleasure from inflicting pain on other creatures, and even on his own kind". The revival of the Tarzan lore, after a decade's lull, is attributed to the universal concern over the environment, wild life and rain forests. Three films are under way to review the Tarzan mystique. The first, a $25 million extravaganza based on the novel *Tarzan and the Lost City of Opar* has the "new man" Tarzan sharing and caring for his fellowmen and the menagerie of jungle animals — no longer plunging his knife into a marauding crocodile attacking Jane. A far cry, then, from the Olympic swimmer, Johnny Weissmuller's Tarzan. The second is a musical version, with an animated feature film and a host of virtual reality thrills. The third (surprise, surprise!) is a comical Tarzan takeoff called *George and the Jungle*. Tarzan seems all set to swing, sing and laugh his way across the *fin de siecle* into the new millennium.

The Age of Philosophy
A Critique of Pure Reason

By PARVEEN BABI

OUR contemporary society erroneously defines a philosopher as any individual who conducts a logical analysis of existing and apparent reality. This perhaps is proof that contemporary society no longer produces true philosophers. Rationalist philosophers from Aristotle to Bertrand Russell have given philosophy methods of conducting syllogistic inferences and logical analysis — and down the ages, these techniques have become so synonymous with philosophy, and the practice of true philosophic explorations so rare, that today, the practice of logical analysis has erroneously been taken to mean the practice of philosophy.

Man's Search

Philosophy, according to my definition, is man's search for aspects of his existence hitherto unknown to him, regarding which his curiosity is naturally aroused, and his answers to this search holding true universally.

A philosopher is one who with his thought and intuition changes the course of mankind and takes human consciousness one step forward. A philosopher is thus an individual with a curiosity about certain aspects of human existence. He possesses a certain extraordinary and irrepressible original substance which compels him to become curious, to search, and to make a statement about his search and its answer.

My above statements give rise to another question — is it necessary for philosophy always to be based on pure reason? I would like to ask another question in reply to the above. What if the philosophy of pure reason is discovered to be lacking? Should the modern world, even then, continue to follow the philosophy of reason? If the philosophy of reason was true and perfect unto itself, then it would have led the human race to perfection. But today, after centuries of following the philosophy of reason, corruption and moral decay are rampant in society. The proof of the validity of a civilisation's philosophical system comes from its effect on that civilisation. And our modern civilisation's philosophy of reason has only created chaos and corruption.

Reason, evidently, seems to be able to conduct perfect calculations by itself, but these seemingly perfect calculations are perfect merely in their deductive capacity. Deductive logic, though capable of conducting perfect deductive calculations, lacks wisdom and the universal positive values required to reflect on the ultimate aspects of human existence.

Deductive Logic

Pure logic in philosophy has yet to come up with a technique of inference which is faultless. Pure mathematical and scientific logic, while possessing the capacity for deductive and analytical calculations, has led man to his destruction by inventing scientific and technological phenomena which give him the capacity to destroy himself. And since science deals in pure reason — and scientists conduct their enquiries and inventions without the involvement of universal positives — their actions have invariably been conducted in the negative direction of giving a few individuals the supreme power, the means of destroying the human race.

In fact, after a few inceptional enquiries, most of the significant scientific endeavours of the 20th century have been conducted with a destructive motive. The division of the atom was conducted in order to create the apparatus of the atomic bomb. The observation, exploration and analysis of space has been conducted with the motive of achieving geostrategic power and supremacy — and commercial avarice — which will both eventually prove destructive for the human race. Even the invention of computer technology has been conducted with the motive of creating a supreme deductive intelligence to be used for warfare, political power and control.

Apart from these, most discoveries are used for commercial benefit, for greed and competition, and thereby for the moral destruction of the human race. The positive utilisations of scientific discoveries — for healing and medicinal purposes — are few and far between. This is the outcome of the functioning of pure reason, without the support of the universal positive, such as the belief in a higher entity and in scruples.

It is time that we adopted what the greatest philosophers of mankind — Jesus Christ, Mohammmad and Buddha taught — the highest order of reason combined with belief. Belief in the positive, the truth, a higher reality, which helped them attain perfection, and which helped them lead humanity towards the attainment of perfection. It is not necessary to limit philosophy to reason and separate it from spiritual philosophy. It is not necessary to limit philosophy to reason especially when one is able to perceive now that the philosophy of reason is imperfect by itself and that it is the combination of *reason and belief* which constitutes the perfect philosophy.

Belief is the capacity, nurtured in human individuals, to recognise and acknowledge the ultimate truth — God. And it is the centuries-old recognition of the human individual, of God — the ultimate truth, and the acknowledgement of this truth, which has become built in to the human individual as belief.

Belief was first inculcated in human beings by God providing evidence to them of his self and his positives. However, the majority of humanity is not capable of (true) belief. If they were capable of (true) belief, then they would not be able to subscribe to the gross corruption of human society. Because belief — the capacity for the positive — is also the incapacity to subscribe to the negative, corruption. And hence, all those subscribing to negatives — the corruption of society — are incapable of belief. It is only that minority, incapable of subscription to the corruption of society, in varying degrees, who are capable of belief, in varying degrees.

Towards Perfection

Hence, belief is not generated out of completely imperfect substance. Belief is generated only out of the reasonably refined, evolved substance. When the individual's substance becomes reasonably refined, then it generates both belief and healthy reason. Healthy reason is reason which is reined in by belief, which is supported by belief, which is combined with belief, and which is incapable of negative.

I also believe that the function of human philosophy today ought to be to solve the existentialistic problems of man, instead of getting self-involved, and intensely microscopic about abstractions or epistemological and syllogistic explorations about the perception of reality.

The purpose of man's thought — his philosophy — according to me is to help him attain fulfilment in his wordly existence and lead him to perfection of the self and the species. And, of course, the ultimate function of man's thought is to lead him to God — perfection — and to help himself realise Godhood.

• *The author is a former film actress*

Barefoot Bankers are Women's Best Friends

By ADITI KAPOOR

TILL a few years ago, Poorvibhen, a poor woman in Banaskantha district, Gujarat, was forbidden by the menfolk to step out of her village alone. Today, she proudly boasts of having been all the way to Australia to share her experiences on self-empowerment. Helped by a voluntary organisation, the village women have organised themselves as producer groups for products ranging from salt to plant nurseries and embroidery. They have established linkages with sources of capital and the market and become financially more sound. Migration has decreased dramatically. Community leaders are now forced to listen to them.

Women's Initiative

There are an increasing number of such women's groups visible in our villages and urban slums. In the picturesque Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, for instance, women from adjoining villages together built a ropeway across river Neugal, the only link to the outside in the monsoons. Kangra's *mahila mandals*, although organised by outside agencies, are actively promoting improved livelihoods. Tribal women in Dumka district, Bihar, and Bankura district, West Bengal, are collectively reclaiming their wastelands to generate income. In Bankura, the women now own the land they manage. Some of Delhi's slums and resettlement colonies now boast of "banks" introduced by a voluntary body as part of a thrift and credit scheme.

Interestingly, not all successful women's initiatives have been catalysed by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In fact, the role of an NGO, however successful, is limited by its external character. Sustainability of community initiatives lies in the involvement of local people. A key feature of an effective women's organisation is that its management and control is in the hands of the beneficiaries. *Speaking Out*, a recent book brought out by The Aga Khan Foundation and United Nations Women's Fund documents such efforts in South Asia. It narrates how the marginalised and powerless women have revolutionised their image by taking on the roles of 'barefoot' bankers, accountants, doctors, vets, teachers, trainers and other such professions. Recording of such grassroots efforts in such detail is commendable, because it is so rare. What is also notable about the book is its recognition that the world has moved beyond NGOs and into the age of community initiatives. Such grassroots drive are an effective antidote to poverty. Shedding the fear of their menfolk, many poor and illiterate women now know how to profit from suitable government schemes and exploit market opportunities. They are appropriating decision-making roles outside their homes to effectively manage their economic affairs. There is no census but lakhs of women are proving that self-help is best help. These women are sending out a powerful message: give us a chance and we can help pull ourselves out of poverty. For policy makers this is a very forceful message indeed. Fifty years after independence, one in three Indians continues to live below the poverty line, majority being women and children. Studies have shown that in poor households the woman's proportional contribution to total family income is the highest. The world Microcredit Summit 1997, the first of its kind, was a celebration of this awakening among women of developing countries. It recognised the fact that despite gender discrimination at every level, women have shown themselves to be very adept at saving, are highly creative entrepreneurs, and ensure that earnings go directly to meeting family needs.

A Right Step

The Summit also highlighted the fact that though microbusiness is a vibrant component of national economies it is not recognised as such by policy-makers and the business sector. In India, for instance, 90 per cent of the labour is in the unorganised sector and women should [illegible] heavy burden. The government's Panchayati Raj system is a step in the right direction, but devolution of political powers in full would entail decentralised planning and giving far more financial powers to village— and district-level community organisations. It would mean changing laws which restrict people's, and particularly women's empowerment. Essentially, it would mean a change in attitude.

The poor do not want to be viewed as objects of charity but as economically and socially productive people who know what they want and are willing to work for it. For instance, successful women's initiatives prove that the poor do not need "[illegible]" goods and services. They are willing to pay a price for basic amenities and other services if they can exercise a degree of control over them. Women's organisations are providing their members with charged services including health care, child care, life insurance, disaster relief and emergency funds for crop failure, funerals or school fee. These community initiatives are a step towards progress.



Sacred Space

Today is Ganesh Chaturthi

Shiva, Brahma and Vishnu declared in unison: "O great god, just as we three are worshipped in all the three worlds, so also Ganesha will be worshipped by all of you. He is the remover of all obstacles (*Vighneshwara*) and the bestower of the fruits of all rites."

Shiva Purana Rudrasamhita IV

•

One is never tired of [illegible] at an elephant, or watching the rolling waves of the sea, or gazing at the soothing moon. Ganesha endears Himself to children in spite of His body. He has the tiny mouse as His vehicle (*vahana*). [illegible] illustrates the Vedantic truth that God alone matters, other external paraphernalia are illusions. The pride of an elephant is in its tusks, and it takes care to keep them bright and sharp. But Vinayaka broke one of His tusks to write the Mahabharata, demonstrating that no amount of personal sacrifice is too much in the cause of spreading knowledge of Truth, *dharma* and *jnana*.

Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati

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When you call Him
God comes to your help like a friend
With the Guru's grace, He lives in your heart
He is not attained in any other way
Man, you should call [illegible] the riches of His Name
So that He helps you in the hour of need

Guru Ram Das

•

God is more [illegible] than expressed [illegible] more truly than he is imagined

St Augustine

Love Vanished

By SITA KAPOOR

THE other day I drove up to the Chandralok on the way to Mussoorie just to have a cup of coffee. It was hot and sunny. The friend with whom I drove up was all hot and bothered about his son's admission in a school, and while the son was not perturbed, the father was on the point of despair and heat collapse.

"Two drinks, one coffee for the lady and a cold lemon soda for me," he said to the waiter.

I stared all around at the restaurant. The neat napkins on the tables were not there, neither the matching table cloths. There was no music like the year before. There was only one couple at a table who appeared to be enjoying a *paneer* dish with *naans*. There was dust on the antique metal stove and if it had been auctioned might have fetched a tidy sum because of the dust proving its age!

While I drank my coffee and ate a cheese sandwich my friend cooled off with the *nimboo pani*. Though the Chandralok was the same — I'd once written a middle on it about a romantic encounter — now something had changed. There were no menus, no roses, no romances. There was no crumpled white lace hanky near a note. Everything was dusty and there was a sense of desolate despair in the air.

I drank the coffee with a feeling of discontented distress and after a while the two of us dashed out leaving it all behind. Love had vanished and there were coats of dust where once the roses sang. Love had burned itself out like the embers in the ancient stove. Love had left only memories and tunes behind. Those brief encounters could never be recaptured again. Things were never to be the same. Time moves on and the scenes change. The 'pink roses' of love had vanished and there was no fragrance any more.

As I drove down to Dehra Dun I thought of the Chandralok again and again. Was it my imagination, the brief encounter of a year ago? Was it all now buried in the dust? My friend who was lost in thought too, thinking about the future of his son, dropped me off at my house. It was already dark. I opened my house with my large antique key which lay at the bottom of my black silk-lined bag. My lovely large dog wagged his tail. He was so glad I was back. He rubbed his nose against my knee as he always does when I come home. Love may have vanished, brief encounters of the year before were over. I forgot everything as soon as I warmed up some milk on the gas. "Love lies at home," I said to myself. My dog jumped onto the divan, his night bed. The picture of Chandralok, a restaurant in the hills on the way to Mussoorie, soon faded away.

CURRENT TOPICS

Taught by Fire

PREPARATIONS have started for the 23rd annual Calcutta book fair, scheduled for the last week of January, 1998. The organisers of the fair, as well as the book lovers of West Bengal, suffered a traumatic experience last year when a fast-spreading fire reduced the much-loved fair to a smouldering heap within an hour. Subsequent investigation revealed many lapses that had resulted in the fire. Also, they drew inspiration from the way the fair came back to life within days, thanks to help from the state government and the grit showed by the organisers and publishers.

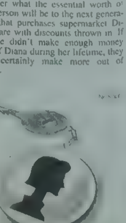
This year, however, things have taken off on an inspiring note. A Briton, who had witnessed last year's mishap, had promised to assist in the future, and he has reportedly lived up to it. He has raised in England the equivalent of Rs 15 lakh which he wants to contribute. He is expected in Calcutta in the third week of September. The state's information and cultural affairs minister, Mr Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, who played the leading role in reviving the fair last year, has handed over Rs 53 lakh to the Publishers and Booksellers Guild, to compensate small publishesrs who had suffered losses in the fire. Altogether 174 publishers, including little magazines are one of the major attractions of the fair, and this special consideration shown to them will mean a lot. It is not to be forgotten that it was from these magazines that today's major writers, like the late Shakti Chattopadhyay and Sunil Gangopadhyay, had emerged.

The government is insisting, wisely, that all stalls must be insured this time. Allocation of stalls has always been a problem for the Guild as demand is always too high for the space available and strings are pulled to make room for the favourable of higher-ups at the last moment. As a result, stalls go up in a mass, without any spacae being left between one and the next. Temporary stalls are built necessarily with easily combustible material. Last year's fire was believed to have been started by an upturned stove, though this was never conclusively proved. However, the Guild will have to adopt many precautions this time, to avert another blaze. Their responsibility is greater than simply running a fair for ten days. The book fair is now part of Calcutta lore and any upsets will hurt Calcutta.

Milking a Memory

WE can safely expect the death of Princess Diana to trigger off a Dianamania merchandising boom that could well rival Walt Disney marketing spin-offs with T-shirts, mugs, dolls, keychains, the works. One can readily imagine the names pending patent: Dianamite firecrackers, a Dianawear sports range, Dianosaur balloons, Diana the blockbuster film and more. Diana tours can't be far behind, starting at the hotel where she and Dodi al-Fayed dined that fatal night (rear entrance exit, of course), to the scene of the car crash at the [illegible] on the Seine, to the Pitie Salpetriere Hospital and the flight to England for her final resting place.

Barely three months ago, Cuba and several Latin American countries were commemorating the 69th birth anniversary of the Argentinian-born Ernesto Che Guevara, who became Fidel Castro's right-hand man and tried to export the Cuban revolution to Latin America. He failed to launch uprisings in Argentina, and when he tried it in Bolivia, the Bolivian army hounded and hunted him, and the government executed him in 1967. His remains were recently discovered in a grave and returned to Cuba for reburial in style. Meanwhile, 30 years after he was executed, the Che tourist attractions continue to draw visitors in Bolivia. There are guided tours through the countryside where he waged his final campaign, stopping at towns he visited, the site where he was captured and killed, and the hospital where his body once lay. Tourists can even meet old-timers who knew both the rebels and the troops who pursued them. And of course, there is the musical *Evita* with Madonna playing Eva Peron and Antonio Banderas playing a singing Che Guevara. It's called milking a memory. It makes you wonder what the essential worth of the person will be to the next generation that purchases supermarket Dianaware with discounts thrown in. If people didn't make enough money out of Diana during her lifetime, they will certainly make more out of death.



LETTERS

Clarion Call

Sir,—The speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr P. A. Sangma, during his keynote address to the special session of Parliament, gave a clarion call for a second freedom struggle against corruption and for the restoration of values in public life. Unfortunately, if one were to go by the subsequent proceedings in the house, this stirring speech did not seem to have had any impact on the other elected members. The attendance was already very thin and the passion and commitment, necessary for making such pleas effective were clearly missing.

The MPs should set the house in order by attending in full quorum, adopting this rousing resolution wholeheartedly, and then spreading the concept through the length and breadth of the country. And on our part, we should, individually and collectively, do everything in our command to take this movement forward and make the second freedom struggle as successful as the first.

M.V DEVRAJ
Mumbai

Sickly Scheme

Sir,—The government's recent amendment to the Employees' State Insurance Act, enhancing the wage ceiling from Rs 3,000 to Rs 6,500 for coverage of employees under the act, is not at all desirable. Many organisations and unions in the country have opposed the scheme and have asked for exemption.

The ESI Scheme was framed in order to provide compensation and medical treatment to workers in the event of sickness or employment injury. However, the medical facilities and services offered under the ESI Scheme are inadequate and inefficient. Furthermore, the Employees' State Insurance Corporation (ESIC) pockets the hard-earned money of the workers, who have no choice in the matter and are compelled to contribute to ESIC. Quite often, medicines prescribed by the Insured Medical Practitioners (IMPs) are not available in the ESIC medical shops. In some areas the services of IMPs and the medical shops selling ESIC medicines are not available at all.

As the IMPs are remunerated very poorly by ESIC, workers do not receive proper [illegible] and are usually compelled to opt for private treatment. The ESIS hospitals are ramshackled [illegible] the scheme before forcing thousands of more people into it.

M C UDYAWAR
Mumbai

What a Shame!

Sir,—On August 14, BBC showed how our aged freedom fighters, who had been invited from different parts of the country to participate in the Golden Jubilee march, were accommodated. It was shameful to see them lying on the floor of a corridor in a government building, without even beds. Even the poorest Indian will offer a proper bed for a guest, and it is shameful that the officials deputed to look after the freedom fighters could not even ensure that they were properly lodged.

K L SHARMA
Noida

II

Sir,—I had gone to to the Mumbai airport to receive my cousins who were flying in from Kuwait on the morning of August 15. In order to celebrate the country's 50th year of freedom, the passengers arriving in the country were being greeted by some music and a welcome committee. A nice thought, one might imagine. But, infuriatingly enough, while the welcome committee was fawning over the Western visitors and applying tilak on their foreheads, they were ignoring and sometimes even brushing away the Indian passengers.

How ironical! Our forefathers fought for freedom from outside oppression. But, 50 years later, it is the Western visitor who is still placed on a pedestal while we Indians treat our very own like dirt. As long as we we continue to mete out such condescending and step-motherly treatment to our own people, we cannot claim to be truly free or to have entirely shrugged off our colonial hangover. It is time we realised that independence is as much a state of mind as a political condition.

STELLA MARAIS
Kalyan

Mystery Meeting

Sir,—In 'Deception on Kashmir in 1965' (August 11), Mr K. Subrahmanyam has quoted from Mr Duane [illegible]

Time to Act

[illegible]

FUTURISTICS

Catastrophe Futures

For speculators who like to wager on when and how catastrophes will affect the economy, catastrophe futures are a dream come true. In fact speculators are the ones who are assuming the risk that the underwriters and other users don't want. This is the traditional raison d'etre of a futures market. It allows hedgers who don't want risk, to shift their risk to speculators, who do want risk in pursuit of profit. Thus, if a hurricane is harsher than expected the speculators in this scenario would incur the losses. On the other hand, if the hurricane is milder than expected, then speculators gain what the hedgers lose in the futures market but the hedgers' futures losses are just offset by their gains in underwriting income by virtue of having fewer damages.

Interestingly, futures contracts are excellent predictors of the future. This is because futures are nothing more than predicted prices and people become very good predictors when their money is on the [illegible] catastrophe futures may possess [illegible] remarkable ability to indirectly predict catastrophes as those entering into the contracts — risking their money — develop tools on their own for predicting catastrophes. Such tools include computer simulations, advance weather tracking, seismic monitoring, geological studies and any other evidence deemed relevant by the experts. Observing price fluctuations in the catastrophe futures market will then allow others to utilise the catastrophe predictions of these experts.

[illegible] ordinary people [illegible] of major events [illegible] floods and earth[illegible] affecting their live[illegible]

The widespread [illegible] would greatly [illegible] risks associated [illegible] trophes. Develop[illegible] [illegible]

Japanese are suspicious about the direction China may be headed in

By Harvey Stockwin
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG As Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto arrived in Beijing on Thursday, there were clear indications of deepening Japanese suspicion about the direction in which China may be headed

The summit meetings between Mr Hashimoto and Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng are meant to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the normalisation of ties between China and Japan in 1972 But whereas the first summit in 1972 was followed by a bout of "China fever" in Japan, it seems most unlikely that any such euphoria will follow the Hashimoto visit

As with many other countries, including India, Japanese public and even official perceptions of China are often tinged with romanticism mixed with naive notions of extent and scope of the Chinese market to absorb other countries' exports

The initial 'China" fever was abruptly halted when China suddenly cancelled a large steel plant near Shanghai in which the Japanese were heavily involved Inevitably the 'Tiananmen massacre' in 1989 enhanced a negative image of China with Japan Just as the image was recovering a little, the crisis early in 1996, when China tried to influence the Taiwan presidential election by testing missiles in the Taiwan Strait, set it back again

So the negative perceptions recorded in a recent Kyodo news agency survey of public opinion hardly come as a surprise Taiwan is an issue which complicated Sino-Japanese relations just as it does with Sino American relations

China cannot forget that it was Japan which separated Taiwan from mainland control 102 years ago as Taiwan became a Japanese colony Japanese cannot forget that Taiwan lies extremely close to the southernmost islands of the Japanese archipelago China asserts that it might use force to reincorporate Taiwan within China, but Japan would be extremely upset if China did so

Significantly, therefore, in the Kyodo survey 31 per cent said that Taiwan should be included in the area of defence cooperation between the U S and Japan while only 21 per cent disapproved of the idea

Likewise, indicating a hardening of Japanese views of China, the survey showed that 46 per cent of Japanese believed China would become a military threat

Allied with this opinion, 39 per cent thought China would become a powerful rival, while another 42 per cent thought China would become 'some sort of a rival," meaning that eight out of ten Japanese see China as rival

But the survey's results still indicate that 57 per cent of Japanese felt "a certain degree of closeness to China" while 42 per cent said they felt no such sentiment Yet, of the 57 per cent who felt closeness, no less than 15 per cent said that China could become a threat in the future

Not all the Japanese views of China are unfavourable A clear majority appears to be still making up its mind, as when 21 2 per cent see the current state of Sino Japanese relations as favourable," 20 7 per cent as "unfavourable" while no less than 58 per cent answer that they cannot say one way or the other

The same willingness to reserve judgment is apparent as 39 per cent expect future relations with China will be smooth, 14 per cent think they will not, and 46 per cent feel that relationship could go either way

But one survey answer will be particularly worrying for the Chinese A total of 46 per cent of Japanese said that Taiwan should become independent, 35 per cent said Taiwan should retain its present (ambiguous) status, and only 13 per cent agreed with China's view that Taiwan must be reunited with the mainland

Memory of Diana takes centrestage at MTV annual awards function

NEW YORK The memory of Princess Diana has taken centrestage at the MTV annual video awards, with many celebrities on the show recalling her spirit and strength

Elton John, who will sing at Diana's funeral on Saturday, announced at the glitzy show that MTV would donate $ 100,000 to charities supported by the late princess, such as AIDS organisations

Before the show, John smiled and waved at fans outside who yelled "Sing for Diana " He will perform a rewritten version of 'Candle in the Wind' at the elaborate London funeral service

Fans filled the streets and cheered as music stars including Madonna Janet Jackson and rap actor Wu Tang Clan arrived for the 14th annual awards ceremony at the landmark Radio City music hall

The memory of the princess, who died on Sunday in an automobile crash in Paris, wove its way through the awards show

"Princess Diana made everybody feel good You could tell her spirit and her vibe were so right She s all right now," said R&B artist Sean Combs, who performs as Puff Daddy

She's in heaven with biggie and everybody else," he said

A sombre Madonna admonished the audience, saying: "It is time for us to take responsibility for our insatiable need to run after gossip, scandal and lies and rumours

And it is time that we realise that everything that we say and do is connected and has an effect on the world around us." "We are all one and and until we change our negative behaviour, tragedies like this will continue

Britain's Spice Girls won best dance video for 'Wannabe' and dedicated its award to Diana

'It's a great loss for our country said band member Melanie Chisholm

"She had real girl power," added Spice Girl Geri Halliwell

British acid jazz group Jamiroquai won four awards, including best video of the year for 'Virtual Insanity '

BNP's boycott of house forces Bangla President to utter a tough remark

By Zaglul A. Chowdhury
The Times of India News Service

DHAKA An unusually tough remark by country's ceremonial president Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed about the current political situation in the country, particularly the stalemate in Parliament over opposition boycott of the session, has become the main topic of discussion in the political circles here

The political scene of Bangladesh is currently somewhat on a collision course between the ruling Awami League and the main opposition party — Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) — and the comment of the highly respected president is viewed by different circles as a warning by a neutral person who is considered as a "conscience keeper" of the nation His remarks are expected to put pressure on the two main political parties as both of late are seeking to flex their muscles against the other causing concerns in the political scene

President Shahabuddin Ahmed — the former chief justice who was elected as the titular head of the nation last year without any contest — told a seminar here on Tuesday that the main opposition is staying away from the house for the last few days in a confrontationist move with the ruling party which is also seems to be unaccommodating on the opposition demands on issues where adjustment is very much possible

He said the formation of different committees in the house is now the main bone of contention as opposition sticks to proportional representation on the issue "The opposition is rigid while the government is equally adamant as if the sky will fall if this demand is accepted" said the president and deplored such intransigent positions of the two warring sides

The seminar marked the 99th birth anniversary of late Abul Mansur Ahmed, who was a well known journalist, litterateur and politician, who was once acting prime minister of Pakistan in the mid 50s. In his speech, Mr Ahmed paid tributes to him as in his writings he had also mentioned in sarcastic manner the approaches of politicians that at times cost the nation heavily Mr Ahmed said two main parties are demonstrating stubbornness that is affecting the functioning of the democracy and national progress

People are more alert now and the final solution lies with them," warned the president while expressing his disgust over the stand off on opposition's boycott of the house

The speech of the President is also seen in some circles as going beyond his normal jurisdiction in the parliamentary form of the government But it is generally seen as an outburst by a person who often gives vent to his feelings on different issues without bias Earlier, he spoke against the student politics warning the political parties against using the students as a political tool The comments had drawn criticism from some quarters but were generally hailed by common people

Mr Ahmed conducted the first national elections under non-partisan caretaker government in 1991 and earned praise for the free and fair polls. He returned to the bench after the elections and later retired as chief justice But Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina persuaded him to take up the post of president when she preferred him to many senior party leaders and this enhanced her image This time too, he came down heavily on the two main parties and political observers say that the remarks of Mr Ahmed will influence the feuding politicians to resolve issues which are at least not difficult in nature His views came at a time when the two main parties are otherwise also at loggerheads with each other on a variety of reasons

Diana's funeral is shaping up as intense media event

LONDON: Organisers and technicians laboured hectically on Thursday to accommodate the thousands of journalists covering the funeral of Princess Diana

The funeral on Saturday is shaping up as an even more intense media event than her wedding to Prince Charles in 1981, which was the most watched television broadcast ever in Britain

Westminster abbey is setting up a huge press facility for out of town journalists, laying in an extra 500 telephone lines and even that may not be enough

"We can't even stop to count how many calls we've been getting," said Geraldine Ransom, one of the organisers at the centre

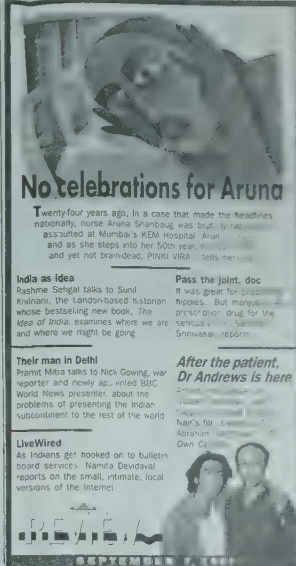
Places in the abbey for media are strictly limited Only two U S print media have been allotted places Newsweek and the Associated Press

Photographers and cameramen inside the abbey have been told not to take pictures of any members of the royal family or Princess Diana's relatives unless they are speaking as part of the service

BBC television will broadcast the funeral to 187 countries and its radio world service will cover the funeral in 44 languages

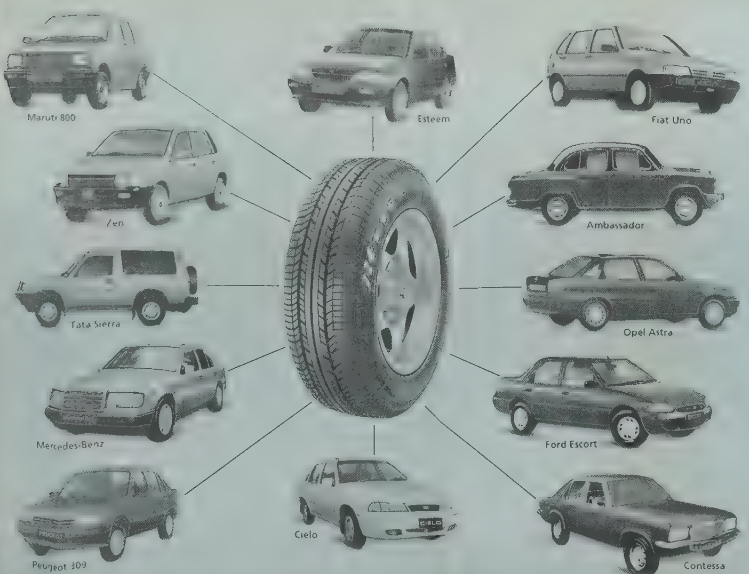
Across the street from the church, labourers were working round-the clock to construct a huge grandstand for photographers and video cameramen It is one of several being put up along the 3 5 mile route on which Princess Diana's coffin will be taken from her Kensington palace residence to the abbey

After the funeral, her body will be taken to great Brington, about 50 miles away, for burial in the spencer family vault There, the media crush will be absent Police closed the village to all but residents on Thursday



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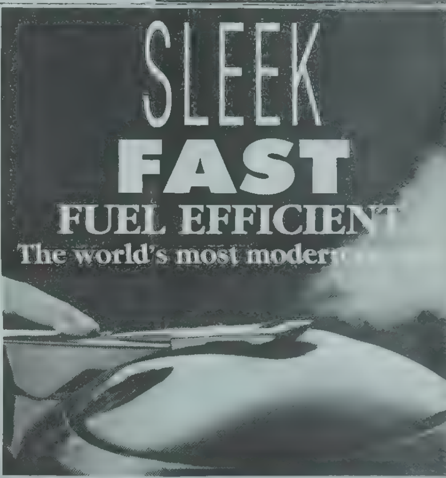
ULTIMA	ULTIMA-XS	AQUASONIC	BRUTE	TORNADO	RALLY
Ford Escort	Mercedes-Benz	Ford Escort	Tata Sierra	Tata Estate	Padmini
Esteem	Opel Astra	Tata Sierra	Mahindra Classic	Armada	Ambassador
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GUJARAT: [illegible]

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The lord of nature and culture

By Ranjit Hoskote

Ganesha, the beloved elephant headed god, will be worshipped with particular devotion today, especially in south western India, where he occupies a special place in the popular imagination. The son of Parvati and Shiva, this genial and pot-bellied deity is invoked at the beginning of every enterprise; writers venerate him as the greatest of scribes, who wrote out the *Mahabharata* to the sage Vyasa's dictation.

Ganesha is popularly thought of as a *vighnaharta*, one who wards off ill omens and removes obstacles from the path of his devotees. But he was [illegible] always so, and far beyond the Ganesha we see today is a Ganesha we do not know, who springs from a deep prehistoric stratum of the subcontinent's cultural experience.

Once upon a time, Ganesha was a fierce tribal god, a *yaksha* guardian of the forests and their people. He was

THE SPEAKING TREE

propitiated as a *vighnakarta*, a creator of obstacles by whose grace alone could one survive in the labyrinthine tropical jungle.

Ganesha found a prominent place in Shaivite worship when, at some [illegible] the tribal cult of the elephant-god was assimilated into the religion of the farmers and so into that of the city-dwellers. In the forests of central India, though, he is still venerated in the ancient, elemental form of a large black stone sanctified with vermilion and a pair of silver and enamel eyes.

Over time, then, as the monopoly of power became concentrated in the metropolitan centres, the forest-dwellers lost Ganesha to the city- [illegible] appropriation has deprived them of their traditional rights and resources, while withholding from them the opportunities that modernity creates. Kept in [illegible] nomic and ecological subjugation, forest-dwellers no longer have a [illegible] to protect them from a host of monsters.

One such monster is the sandalwood and ivory smuggler Veerappan, who operates in the scrublands and jungles of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka — and who, ironically, makes his illicit profits by killing elephants.

While the law classifies him, justly, as a criminal, Veerappan has acquired something of a demigod's aura among the tribals of the territories over which he ranges. Respected by some, feared by others, he feeds them, employs them in his nefarious poaching enterprises and protects their interests. Veerappan is a barbaric killer of humans and animals; only the naive would regard him as a saviour of the oppressed. But, purely by default [illegible] since he must maintain [illegible] power base and shelter area — this [illegible] gangster provides the tribal population with benefits that they have never had since they were co-opted, first into the British colonial system and then into the Indian nation-state.

Independent India has simply pursued the colonial logic of exploitation [illegible] both of nature and of humanity [illegible] in its dealings with the forest dwellers. Our laws have driven forest dwellers to desperation by denying them access to the forest produce on which their livelihood has been based for centuries. Worse, wildlife conservation programmes have often driven human communities out of animal habitats — in gross violation of traditional wisdom, which knows that animals and humans have historically evolved stable ecosystem patterns through an instinctive mutual understanding. Besides, marginal farmers are not adequately compensated for crop damage and deaths caused by rampaging animals.

These are the pressures which have driven marginal farmers and forest-dwellers into the clutches of criminals like Veerappan over the last five decades. Eliminating him may solve the current problem, but it will not resolve the ecological crisis or generate economic and political equity for the forest-dwellers.

Many of us will approach Ganesha [illegible] his compassionate grace. As we do so, we might also think about those forgotten people, Ganesha's original worshippers, and about the circumstances that have reduced them to misery.

In so doing, we may find that our [illegible] of Ganesha has been altered: being the composite icon that he is, Ganesha is both fierce lord of nature and gentle lord of culture. We do not have to abandon the one to embrace the other; on the contrary, each aspect replenishes, or ought [illegible] replenish, the other.

Ganesha presides over the process of cultural evolution, integral to which is the awareness that our fate is indissolubly linked to that of all other beings; we must realise that, in destroying the forests and enslaving their people, we only poison and enfeeble ourselves.

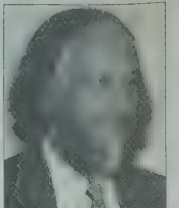
This awareness, in turn, generates a spirit of responsibility towards other beings, towards the natural environment. Let us, then, celebrate Ganesh Chaturti as a festival of re-dedication to that awareness and responsibility.

SATURDAY INTERVIEW: *The industrialised nations want to have their cake and eat it too*

'India must assume a leadership role'

NEW DELHI: In 1992, 162 nations had signed the UN Framework Convention for Climate Change in a bid to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) to slow down the process of climate change. Two sessions of the Conference of the Parties (COP), the body for action on climate change, were then held in 1995 and 1996. The third session, COP-3, has been scheduled for December this year in Kyoto, Japan.

*While the industrialised nations are going soft on mitigation measures within their boundaries, pressure is being put on the developing nations to reduce emissions. Tata Energy Research Institute, led by its director, **R K Pachauri**, has been active on various international forums calling on the industrialised nations to fulfil their commitments as it is their historical actions that have brought on this crisis on our planet. Mr Pachauri speaks on these issues to **Reeta Dutta Gupta***



Q & A / R K Pachauri

Q: How is the issue of global warming relevant for India?

A: The impact of climate change could be quite serious. The tropical countries, perhaps, would be the worst sufferers. The impact would relate to the effects on agriculture, soil, forests, on the monsoons and of course, coastal areas which would face the problem of rising sea level. Another important of concern is the pressure that would be put on the developing countries, India and China in particular, to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. We need to counter these pressures, for if restrictions are imposed, these will affect our development.

In real terms how would these restrictions affect our energy scenario?

In December, the third conference of the Parties (COP-3) is likely to come up with a protocol to restrict GHG emissions. While there is no danger of the developing countries being required to reduce their emissions immediately, there is pressure to make some commitment for the future. In real terms, it would mean cutting down on the use of fossil fuels. That means going for more expensive forms of energy [illegible] solar, wind, biomass, and also a cut on the use of energy per capita. So our expenditure on energy would rise, while the rest of the world would continue to use cheap energy.

What about the responsibilities of the industrialised nations with intensive fossil fuel economies?

The problem is that the industrialised nations want to have their cake and eat it too. They don't want to alter their lifestyles, patterns of energy consumption and all related benefits currently based on high levels of energy. They are very cleverly trying to forget their historical responsibilities which are clearly mentioned in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and shift the burden on the developing nations.

What is their justification?

Basically, they are trying to create a scare that the developing countries would become the largest energy consumers in the future. Perhaps, this will happen over a period of time.

But two major principles have to be understood. First, political boundaries should not decide the commitments of specific societies; what should rather be based on per capita emissions, in which the developed world is way ahead of India with no comparison whatsoever. Secondly, and most important, over the last 150 odd years, the developed nations have emitted GHGs at very high levels, carbon dioxide in particular, which lasts a long time in the atmosphere. Clearly, the developed countries are primarily responsible. It is unethical for them to continue using large quantities of fossil fuels on per capita basis and shift responsibilities to others.

Surely, developing nations cannot be forced into accepting an unfair agreement?

They can't impose it on us if we are united and firm. Unfortunately, there are divisions among the developing countries. If we don't get our act together in the international forums and if there is an agreement and a protocol accepted by the majority, restrictions can be forced on us. If we don't abide by these restrictions, they can put sanctions on us. Our power would lie in being organised, which we are not doing.

What would be the likely stand of nations at COP-3?

The developed countries are not very clear about what they want to do. The European Commission is taking a pro-active approach and has set certain targets for what they are proposing. The Americans are trying to bypass the acceptance of any rigid commitments.

The Japanese have not revealed their position clearly. Unless there is some degree of unified agreement we may end up with weak targets that will not solve the problem. So the developing countries need to put more pressure on the developed countries to accept reasonable and honest targets for reducing emissions. Unfortunately, India of late has been derelict in her duty. India must assume a leadership role as far as the developing countries are concerned.

Modern economies are based on fossil fuels, responsible for climate change. To what extent are alternative technologies being developed and implemented?

Alternative technologies are being developed in India, but not on a large scale. This is largely because of policy failures. A number of technologies required for combating global warming are also technologies good for the [illegible] environment. [illegible] market [illegible] in the [illegible] develop. This is certainly true of renewable energies technologies where India can [illegible] production base on a large scale and [illegible] into the global market. The developed countries are not doing research and development on non fossil fuel alternatives. But we need to create a [illegible] domestic [illegible] to cut down [illegible]

The West has produced a wealth of research literature on the effects of climate change on their ecosystems. Why is there such a dearth of primary research material on the Indian ecosystems?

I would say this [illegible] of the [illegible] research system and the Indian government. Unfortunately the government has been basking in the mistaken belief that they have all the knowledge and know-how. The [illegible] that our scientific and research [illegible] ments are not resilient enough to take on challenges of this kind. The West is capable of producing a lot of research and influence world policies; we need to do the same.

Excessive consumerism is harmful for the environment. Yet it is being vigorously promoted.

One way to manage this would be by internalising environmental costs in the [illegible] whatever we consume. Those using cars and polluting the air must pay higher taxes than those travelling by bus because in per capita terms of passengers per km the emissions are much less. In the rest of the world environmental pricing has come about. In five to ten years, I hope this can be done here. Our pricing system and policies have to be corrected in allocating the true cost [illegible] mental damages. This will help to reduce consumerism.

Can Prince Charles grasp Diana's legacy?

By Martin Walker

When Princess Diana is laid to rest at her family's ancestral estate this Saturday, the crucial question that was raised by her tragic life [illegible] the fate of the British monarchy — will not be buried with her.

For Britain, that is the real drama that is now flowing from his awful death. There have already been complaints that the royal vendetta against Diana goes on with the arrangements for the funeral. It will not be a grand state affair.

The coffin will not lie in state for the people to pay their last respects as they did for Winston Churchill. The funeral service at Westminster Abbey will be limited to 2,000 invited guests. There will not be full-scale public ceremony which many in Britain — including Prime Minister Tony Blair — think is her due.

Certainly, the funeral plans for the queen mother call for five days of lying in state. The death of the woman we now know to have been the world's darling requires a similar grand act of national cartharsis and public farewell.

Diana was not only the most popular royal, but also the only one with a sense of how the monarchy could adapt to a new millennium for its own survival.

She was modern, she was real and she was determined to be relevant. She hugged AIDS victims long before it became fashionable and bullied governments into taking seriously the curse of land mines, and it did it all with grace and humour and kindness to the crowds who always waited. No wonder they called her the people's princess.

Unless members of the royal family can embrace Diana's legacy and the future she charted, they could endanger the continuity of a monarchy that has endured since the last millennium. For the first time this summer, an opinion poll found only a minority who firmly wanted the dysfunctional House of Windsor to stay on the throne. This has not to do just with the infidelity and the divorces of three of the queen's children. Diana did not abide by her marriage vows



but she was endlessly forgiven because she had already won our hearts. Prince Charles, by contrast, has yet even to win our loyalty. The royal family now stands at the crossroads. They can continue in the cold, stiff and formal style that weighed so heavily on Diana. Or they can understand her achievement.

By learning from her ability to break out of the royal bubble and engage the people's hearts, the queen and Prince Charles could yet secure the throne for at least two more generations. The public affection for Diana should ensure the eventual inheritance of her sons. But the royals must remember that they are Diana's children, too, and not lock them back into the authoritarian and stiflingly conventional upbringing which made Prince Charles into the cold fish who broke Diana's heart.

Princes William and Harry have led a schizoid life since the divorce. When they were with Diana, they looked like any other kids wearing sneakers and T shirts and baseball caps. They were taken by their mother into shops and told to stand in line with everyone else and pay for their own purchases. They learned to laugh and have fun.

Once back with their father and the queen, they suddenly don suits and ties [illegible] lips into that traditional British stiffness. Diana was different, a princess of the MTV age. She loved rock music and she loved to dance. Her friends included Elton John and Versace and her life was not just the richer for it, it was more accessible to the British public and to the world at large.

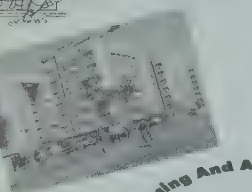
The princess' death was a private anguish for her childrena and family ~~and a cause of deep mourning for the~~ country her son one day will rule. Yet also it was a wider grief that touched a world in which she had become the ultimate celebrity. Diana outgrew Britain at that moment [illegible] wedding [illegible] the birth of global TV. Nearly two billion people saw her make those wedding vows, and most of them continued to pa[illegible] Prince Char[illegible] them. There wa[illegible] marriage. Nor wa[illegible] because Dia[illegible] sionate a[illegible] stood up for herse[illegible] royal court and campaigne[illegible] the causes she believed in, we for gave her and blamed him.

If Prince Charles under[illegible] great national heartache that will fill Westminster Abbey on Saturday and honours the wife he once ~~had never loved, perhaps he can earn~~ forgiveness too. And, with it, the throne [illegible]

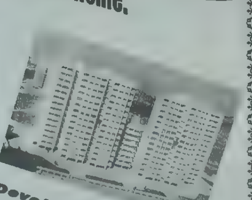


"May Lord Ganesha Bring you Happiness, Prosperity and a New Home."

FIRST COME FIRST SERVED



OSHIWARA



POWAI

Mumbai Housing And Area Development Board

(A Regional unit of M.H.& A.D.A.)

AMENITIES

Elegant Elevations.
Concealed plumbing with quality fittings
High quality Electrical work with moulded Switches.
Antenna and Telephone points provision.
Aluminium sliding Windows.
Kitchen Platform with Granite.
Ceramic Tiles in W.C. and Toilets.
Durable FRP door for Toilets.
Modern lift architrave
Master Bedroom with attached Toilet with European W.C.

MUMBAI HOUSING AND AREA DEVELOPMENT BOARD invites applications for allotment of residential Apartments on out right sale basis of 400 & 550 flats (approximately) at Powai & Oshiwara respectively. These apartments at Powai are beautifully located overlooking the Powai Lake and at Oshiwara amidst swanky upmarket residential apartments adjacent to Lokhandwala Complex

ATTRACTIONS

Those applicants who are unable to pay full cost of the flats towards sale price of flat on outright sale basis can pay 25 to 50% amount of the total sale cost of the flat and thereafter he/she shall be allowed to pay remaining amount of the cost of flat in five years period by charging interest at the rate of 16% per annum.

Available Flats at Powai are ranging from 505 sq. ft. to 893 sq.ft. and at Oshiwara from 708 sq.ft. to 988 sq ft. Prices depend on locality and floor ranging from Rs. 2300 to 3300 (per sq.ft.)

Necessary criteria for eligibility for allotment of flat

1. Applicant Should be 18 years of age on the date of submission of application form
2. Should have minimum 15 years stay in Maharashtra State during the preceding continuous 20 years.
3. Should not possess a house/ flat or a residential plot on ownership basis, hire purchase or rental basis or hold membership in any Co.Op. Housing Society in his or her name in the Municipal Limits of Greater Mumbai
4. Should have monthly family income of above Rs. 7,501/- P.M.

Mumbai Housing & Area Development Board has not appointed any agent to sell the application forms
Contact: P R O Grihanirman Bhavan, Room No. 19, Ground Floor, Bandra (E), Mumbai - 400 051

[illegible] site office : Everyday 10.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m.

OSHIWARA: Mass Housing Project, Bldg. No. 6, Ground Floor, New Link Road, Opp. Oshiwara Police Station, Jogeshwari (W), Mumbai
POWAI: Mass Housing Project, Bldg. No. 2B, Ground Floor, Adi Shankaracharya Road, Opp. Powai Lake, Andheri (E), Mumbai

म्हाडा MHADA

PRO (A)



ॐ गणेशाय नमः ॥

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Internet: http://www.vitesse.allindia.com e-mail: vitesse.deal@maruti.sprintrpg.ems.vsnl.net.in



Appendix 'A
MILITARY ENGINEER SERVICES

Commander Works Engineers (Subs), Bhandup Post, Bombay-78 invites applications upto 17 Sep 97 for issue of tender for Addition/Alteration to Buildings in Phase III at NAD Trombay

Estimated cost Rs 18.00 lakhs Earnest Money Rs 27,000.00 For further details, refer to Indian Trade Journal dated 03 Sep 97

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(AGENTS ALSO WELCOME)

Bill Clinton urges Arafat to step up security efforts

EDGARTOWN (Massachusetts) United States' President Bill Clinton called on Palestinian President Yasser Arafat after a fatal bombing attack in Israel on Thursday and told him it was necessary to mount a 100 per cent effort against the "enemies of peace"

"Mr Clinton made it clear to Mr Arafat that it is in the deepest interest not only of the Israeli people, but the Palestinian people as well to mount a 100 per cent effort against the enemies of peace, among these enemies is Hamas," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart told reporters

He telephoned Mr Arafat from the small town on the the island of Martha's vineyard where he is vacationing The militant Islamic group Hamas has claimed responsibility for a triple suicide bombing that killed seven people in Jerusalem

The president told Mr Arafat during their 30 minute conversation that secretary of state Madeleine Albright would arrive in West Asia as scheduled next week to address both security and political issues, Mr Lockhart said

Mr Clinton s call to Mr Arafat followed his condemnation of the attack as an ' outrageous and inhuman act During a 15-minute call to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu earlier in the day, Mr Clinton pledged to continue to press the Palestinian authorities to do its 'utmost" on security co operation

Meanwhile, at least 12 Israeli troops were killed in heavy clashes with Lebanese army and Muslim guerillas in south Lebanon early on Friday, a security source said

"The number of Israelis dead are high At least a dozen have been killed," the source in Lebanon said

(Reuter)

Anti-India bill's defeat indicates U.S. keenness to establish closer ties

WASHINGTON The Congressional caucus on India has said that the defeat of the anti India amendment in the house of representatives has proved that American law makers favour a closer relationship between Washington and New Delhi

Chairman Frank Pallone, in a statement last night, said that caucus, which enjoyed the support of 9 Congressmen, representing both the Republican and Democratic party would continue its efforts to strengthen U S India ties

He issued the statement after the house had rejected by a record ... votes the amendment which s... to reduce the U S development aid to India from $ 56 m proposed for fiscal the year 1998 to 42 million dollars ... cut of 25 per cent — In protest against India s ' miserable human rights record

Republican Congressman Dan Burton sponsored the amendment which won the support of only 82 members A record number of 342 Congressmen opposed it Last year, a similar measure was defeated by 296 127 votes

Mr Burton found himself totally isolated in the house In the 430 member house, he could line up only two Congressmen — Wally Herger and Dana Rohrabacher, both Republican from California — to speak in favour of his amendment

In sharp contrast, some 24 Congressmen including those of Mr Burton's Republican party, opposed the measure branding it hostile to the U S economic and strategic interest

Several Congressmen ... ments urg... the Clinton administration to work for strengthening the United States relations with India particularly at a time of its Independence' golden jub...

Mr Pallone sa... Mr Burton wanted to drive ... between India and the U S by limiting ...

... and mac... the situation in Ind...

Form... on Asia ...cific Ga... mocrat) praised the hou... ing the Burton amend... proud that I once again ... the anti India brig... Mr Ackerman sa... day s vote was a ... relations

Mr Ackerman wi... New Delhi last wee... the golden jubilee of I... objected to Mr Bur... human rights al... n India h... pointing out the steps New Delhi has taken to remedy the situation

He also criticised Mr Burton for pulling out his customary Gory Verbiage of photos depicting individuals he claimed were killed and tortured by Indian troops

Mr Burton brings one picture and cities hundreds of thousands of incidents It is wrong to blame a whole country for the random acts of a few he added

Indians are leaving Bahrain following amnesty extension

DUBAI Scores of Indians have started leaving Bahrain availing of a three month amnesty declared by the government to ... grants leave the country without penalty

The amnesty which has been granted following th... embassy in Manama comes on the lines of simil... UAE and Saudi Arabia to regularise the immigrant labour force ... clared a three month amnesty last year and Saudi Arabia also offer... don recently to those overstaying in the kingdom

Director of immigration and passport department Shaikh Sabah Bin Dai Al Khalifa Manama has warned that those failing ... before October 31 will face stern legal action He said ... grants who have either overstayed their visa or ha... ments should use the grace period to regularise the...

The Indian embassy in Manama has called on the I... comply with the rules and obtain valid travel and residence permits say the amnesty will spare mostly low paid Indian labourers heavy fines and penalties that would otherwise have been slapped on them

Saudi Arabia has launched a country wide crackdown to flush out about 100,000 illegal immigrants, mostly Asian, from the kingdom warning those helping overstayers with jail term and huge fines

Reports earlier quoted the director general of passports Major General Assad Abdul Karim Al Furaih as saying that the crackdown will continue till mid October this year

According to official Saudi news agency SPA the jail term of up to one year and massive fines upto 100,000 riyals ($ 26,700) will be slapped on those employing, sheltering or helping the illegal entrants

The SPA report said the illegals could avail of it to escape fine and prison More than 100,000 had reportedly left Saudi Arabia in the year 1995 availing of a similar amnesty lasting for a month

Several of the one million pilgrims who come to Saudi Arabia during Haj allegedly sneak out to seek jobs and stay illegally Many others whose visa may have expired also overstay The illegal aliens allegedly take up jobs that could otherwise gone to nationals in a country where unemployment is estimated as much as 20 per cent

Nearly 150,000 illegal immigrants left UAE last year taking advantage of a three month long amnesty announced by the government

GROUP STUDY EXCHANGE
International Educational Exchange
Sponsored by **ROTARY INTERNATIONAL**

Rotary International founded in 1905 is an association of more than a million business and professional leaders spread over 156 countries who provide humanitarian services, promote high ethical standard and help build goodwill, international understanding and peace

Rotary Foundation, supported by Rotarians and others worldwide promotes world understanding and peace through internationa humanitarian and educational programs

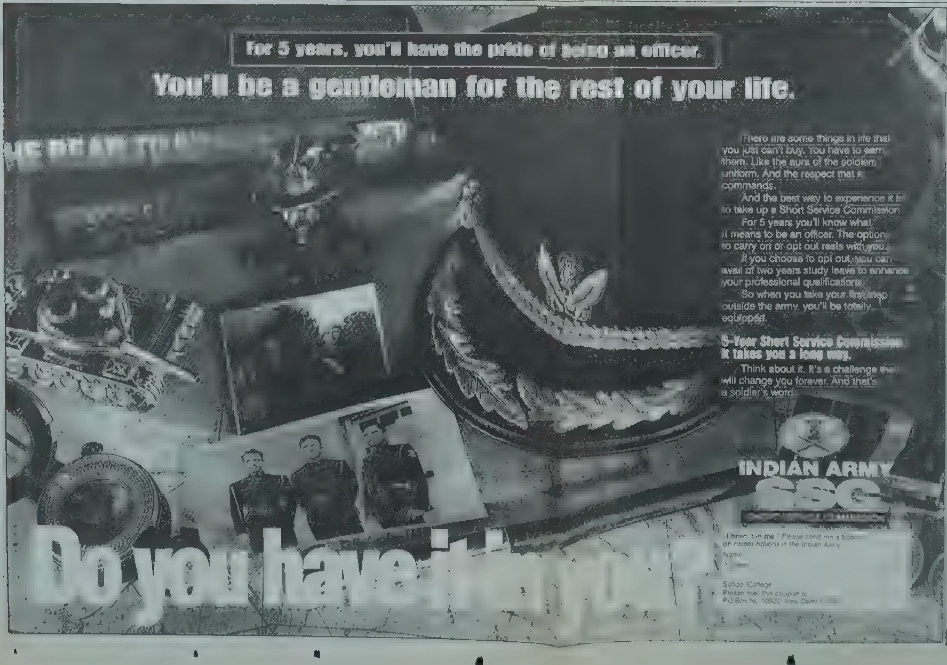
Group Study Exchange (GSE) is an educational program designed to provide to business and professional men and women, study another country, concerned for 4-6 weeks The Rotary Foundation provides travel grants for teams of 4 professional men and women accompanied by a Rotarian team leader

The next team is expected to leave Mumbai for Rotary Dist 4470 (Brazil & Paraguay) in April 98 Eligible persons must be in full time employment or in a profession for min 2 years, must be resident or employed in Rotary Dist 3140 (Mumbai & Thane) and not be closely related to a Rotarian

For details and Applications Forms please contact before 21st Sept 97, the nearest Rotary Club or the following Rotarians -

IPDG SHANTIKUMAR KAPADIA	SHUBHASHIS BHATTACHARYYA	ARVIND MEDHEKAR
135, Great Western, Bldg., 2nd Floor, 23, Medows St. Extn Fort Mumbai 400 004	Artech Engineers Pvt. Ltd. 25, Moonlight, Sir M V. Rd., Andheri East, Mumbai 400 069.	Shri Niwas, Gr. Flr, Opp New Girls School Ram Maruti Road Thane 400 602
Tel 287 4070	Tel 837 0166	Tel 536 1621

Completed Application Forms must be submitted to the **ROTARY CLUB** in your area or any of the above addresses in 12 copies latest by 30th Sept 97



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Up to 50% off
On 'La Paz' & Export Surplus Gents Leather Shoes
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10 30 a m to 8 p m
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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
INDIAN SPACE RESEARCH ORGANISATION
SPACE APPLICATIONS CENTRE
AHMEDABAD-53.

Tender Notice No. 531: Head Purchase & Stores Space Applications Centre, SAC P.O., Ahmedabad invites sealed tenders upto 3 00 p m on Oct 22, 1997 for the supply of undermentioned items Tenders will be opened on the same day at 3 30 p.m in the presence of attending tenderers or their authorised representatives Detailed Specifications and tender documents can be had from the above Office upto Oct 10 1997, on written request together with a crossed Indian Postal Order as mentioned below for each case separately in favour of Accounts Officer, SAC, Ahmedabad

File No. 1. SAC/5086/97/CL (P O. Rs. 200/-) : Liquid Nitrogen Purity Not less than 99 5% **Qty.:** Approx One lakh Cubic Metres

File No. 2. SAC/5312/97/CF (P.O. Rs. 200/-) . E1437A digitizer or its equivalent Compatible with HP75000 (Series-C VXI Bus) main frame Qty 1 No

File No. 3. SAC/5349/97/CF (P.O. Rs 200/-) : C-Band RF Terminal with Spares Power Amplifier should be TWTA Frequency Range 5845 — 6425 MHz **Qty.:** 4 Nos

File No. 4. SAC,15918/97/CF (P O. Rs. 200/-) : 5m x 5m Planar Near Field Scanner for Planar Near Field Measurement of Antenna Scan Area 5m x 5m (16 25 ft. x 16 25 ft) **Qty.:** 1 No

File No. 5. SAC/03559-60/97/DF (P.O. Rs. 200/-) . Pin Diode Switches type-SPST with built-in Driver Frequency Range 3 0 to 6 0 GHz Operating Temp. -55°C to + 85°C **Qty.:** In a slab of 10-20 & 21-30

File No. 6. SAC/5080/97/CL (P.O. Rs 100/-) . Matlab 5 0 Software Tool Ver 5 0 or above or equivalent **Qty.** 1 No

File No. 7. SAC/5713/97/PF (P.O. Rs. 100/-): Thin Film Design Program **Qty.:** 1 No

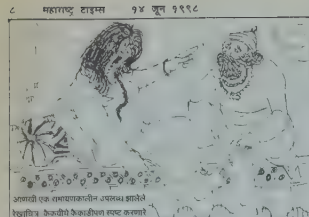
File No. 8. SAC/5334/97/CF (P.O. Rs. 100/-) Noise Generator Frequency Range 100Hz to 1500 Mhz Power Supply 160V to 260VAC 47 Hz to 53 Hz **Qty.:** 1 No

File No. 9. SAC/5350/97/CF (P.O. Rs. 100/-) 3.8 MC Band Transmit/Receive Dual Axis Tracking Offset Antenna Systems **Qty.** 3 Nos

PLEASE DO NOT MENTION DUE DATE ON THE COVER WHILE ASKING FOR TENDER DOCUMENTS AND PLEASE INDICATE CLEARLY ON THE ENVELOPE REQUEST FOR TENDER DOCUMENTS

The envelope containing the tender should be superscribed with tender reference and due date No request for the extension of the due date will be entertained Right is reserved to accept/reject any tender wholly or partly without assigning any reason

davp 3420(171)97



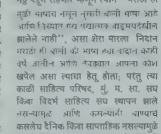
आजवरी एक रामपाखातीरील उपलब्ध झालेले रेखाचित्र. केवळीही केवळीपण स्पष्ट करणारे

मराठी वाङ्मयाचा (गाळीव) इतिहास (खंड दुसरा)

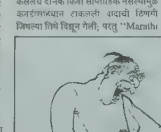
(पान सातवरून)

समर्थतही इतिहासकारांचा पुष्पा-नाही दृष्टिरा ध्या सुख आता हुई पहिली सर्व तुम्ही विस्तार॥

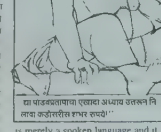
अशी अशा रितीने नव्या मराठी साहित्याचा मूळ उगमापर्यंत तपासून सुरुवात झाली यापुढच आभी प्रथम सहाव्या शतकातील विनायक कोडदेव नाव याचासाखाचा नामक लेखकाचा संस्कृतात या ग्रन्थावरील टीका उपलब्ध झाले होते त्यानी स्पष्ट म्हटले आहे की "मला मराठी लिहिण्यास मेजर केळीसाहेब प्रवृत्त केले. (कवी, मोलवर्ण आणि 'द्वार विश्वरीने व वचापत्र)' यासाठी आम्ही त्यांचे ऋणी आहोत. मराठी ग्रंथाचा इतिहास लिहिताना या ग्रंथाचा उपयोग होणार आहे. या ग्रंथाचा उपयोग करून डॉ. भा. म. देशपांडे यांनी 'मराठी ग्रंथाचा इतिहास' अशा नावाचा ग्रंथ लिहिला आहे. त्यामुळे मराठी साहित्याचा या अज्ञातपणे तत्त्वतपणे मराठी भाषेचा इतिहास लिहिताना या ग्रंथाचा उपयोग होणार आहे. या ग्रंथाचा उपयोग करून डॉ. भा. म. देशपांडे यांनी 'मराठी ग्रंथाचा इतिहास' अशा नावाचा ग्रंथ लिहिला आहे. त्यामुळे मराठी साहित्याचा या अज्ञातपणे तत्त्वतपणे मराठी भाषेचा इतिहास लिहिताना या ग्रंथाचा उपयोग होणार आहे.

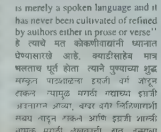


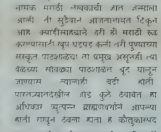
हा पाठप्रपाचाचा एवादा अध्याय उलगडून तिचा कळीसारीस हात पाहावे.

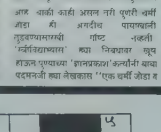


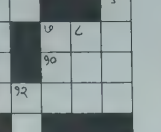
is merely a spoken language and it has never been cultivated of refined by authors either in prose or verse" हे त्याचे मत कोकणीबाबतही ध्यानात घेण्यासारखे आहे. क्वाद्रोसांचेच मात्र म्हणणे पूर्ण खरे होते त्याने पुष्कळच शुद्ध संस्कृत पाठ्यांतून इतरही ग्रंथ आदूज लिहिलेले आहेत. क्वाद्रोसांचेच मात्र म्हणणे पूर्ण खरे होते त्याने पुष्कळच शुद्ध संस्कृत पाठ्यांतून इतरही ग्रंथ आदूज लिहिलेले आहेत. क्वाद्रोसांचेच मात्र म्हणणे पूर्ण खरे होते त्याने पुष्कळच शुद्ध संस्कृत पाठ्यांतून इतरही ग्रंथ आदूज लिहिलेले आहेत.

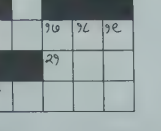


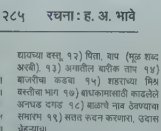


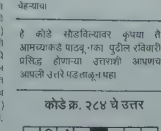


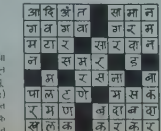


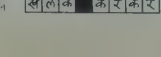


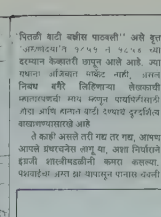


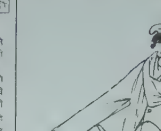






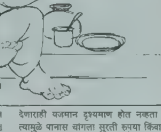


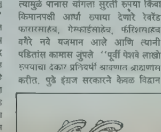




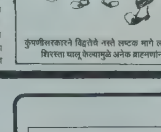




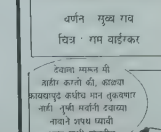




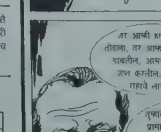


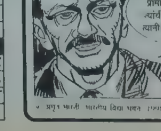




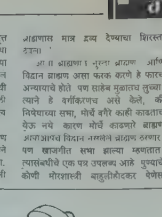




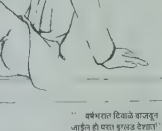


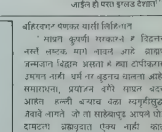


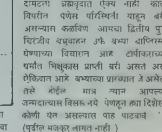


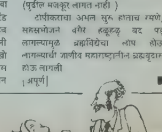




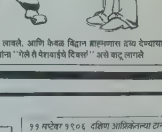


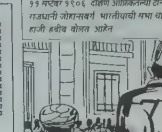


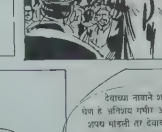


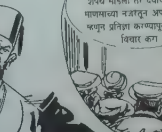


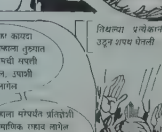


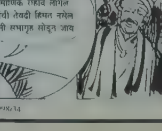








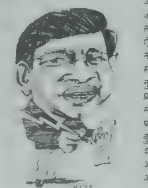




कानोकानी

आतल्या आवाजाची 'चाहुल'

मराठी रंगभूमीवर सध्या 'जुने नाटक घ्या आणि जुनेच नवे म्हणून घ्या (म्हणजे आचार्य अत्रे, पु. ल. देशपांडे यांचे [illegible] नाटक घेऊन त्यावर झटपट [illegible] चढवणं) असा एक प्रकार [illegible] मानवणी कालवणाचा झिरझिरीत [illegible] हलक्या फुलक्या नाटकांचा हाहा हूहू इतुतु चालू आहे. [illegible] छबिलदास [illegible] व्यावसायिक नाटकांच्या झिरझिरीत गुदमरली गेली [illegible] लिखित [illegible] वास्तव [illegible] मध्यमवर्गीय

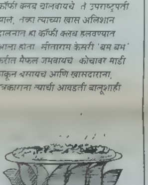


नीतिमूल्यांचा भेदक पंचनामा करणारा [illegible] कथानक काहींना धक्कादायक वाटणार आहे. पण त्याकडे वळण्यापूर्वी नाटककार दळवी यांनी जाता जाता विविध विषयांवर जी सहज भाष्ये केली आहेत, ती जितकी खुमासदार तितकीच चिंतनीय आहेत. "उतावीळपणाची पण एक हद्द असते" [illegible] उत्तरते, "आकस्ताळेपणाला बहुधा ती [illegible]" त्यावर मकरंद म्हणतो "हे काय चाललंय तुझं ? शब्दाला शब्द [illegible] समजलीस ?" (तुळईवर लिहिलेल्या सुभाषितासारख्या भासत याच्या वक्तृत्वशैलीला मारलेली ही कोपरखळी त्याच्या कृत्रिमतेवर नेमकं बोट ठेवते) सध्याच्या असंख्य टी. व्ही. चॅनेल्सच्या मनोरंजन प्रदूषणावरची ही एक [illegible] माधवी म्हणते "ना केबलवाला १२५ रुपयाला ८० चॅनेल्स [illegible] ती ८० चॅनेल्स ? तर त्यानं चक्क धमकी दिली. मग फक्त दूरदर्शन दिसेल [illegible] एक लागलं तरी दुसरं पाहिल्यासारखंच आहे. एक स्टार मुव्हीज लाव आणि डिस्कव्हरी दाखव. आम्हाला त्रास झाला ! तर तो म्हणे बाई, असं नाही होणार. तुम्हाला आवडो न आवडो, ८० बघावीच लागणार [illegible]" ही नुसती चमकदार वाक्य नाहीत, तर सध्याच्या चॅनेल्सच्या आवर्तात आपण नकळत कसे खेचलो [illegible] विदारक टिप्पणी आहे ! नको असलेल्या वस्तूही आपण कशा घरात आणतो, एवढंच नव्हे तर त्या अत्यावश्यक वस्तू कशा बनत जातात, याचं चित्रणही [illegible] आहे. [illegible] आफ्टर शेव्ह, शाम्पू, बॉडी लोशन या वस्तूही जीवनावश्यक बनल्या आहेत. कॉस्मेटिक्स ही नुसती कॉस्मेटिक्स नाहीत [illegible] मेडिसिन्सच आहेत असं माधवी म्हणते. त्यावर मकरंद उत्तरतो "आता कॉस्मेटिक्सना मेडिसिन्स म्हणायचा वेळ आलीय आणि मेडिसिन्सची कॉस्मेटिक्स बनलीयत !" त्यावर माधवी म्हणते, म्हणून तर या दोन्ही गोष्टी हल्ली एकाच स्टोअरमध्ये मिळतात ना ! (तसं म्हटलं तर हे एक साधंच निरीक्षण, पण एरवी साध्या पणती [illegible] मध्यमवर्गीय आयुष्यात चंगळवादाच्या निऑन साईन्स कशा घुसल्यात पाहा !) असाच एक बाणासारखा घुसणारा प्रसंग आहे. माधवी व मकरंद गप्पा मारत असताना आई-वडिलांचा विषय निघतो. तेव्हा दोघांनी कधीच आपापल्या आई-बाबांना एकमेकांशी संवाद करताना पाहिलं नसतं [illegible] आलेली आपण विसंवादी मुलं आहोत, याची जाणीव त्यांना होते. अशी विसंवादी मुलं पुन्हा एकमेकांशी काय कप्पाळ संवाद साधणार ! नाटककाराने संवाद [illegible] समाजाचा सूर नेमका पकडला आहे. पण नाटकातील अशा वाक्यांना प्रेक्षक [illegible] हसतात. (या नाटकात आणखी एक-दोन ठिकाणी [illegible]) [illegible] मराठी नाटक केव्हाच वयात आलं,

आता प्रेक्षकांनी वयात यायला हवय !) एका वरिष्ठ मध्यमवर्गीय कुटुंबाची सध्याच्या रॅट रेस युगात होणारी गोची हा या नाटकाचा विषय. बॉसने आपल्या पत्नीसमवेत एक रात्र घालवण्याची इच्छा व्यक्त केल्याने मकरंद हादरून गेला आहे. नाटकाचा परिस्थितीशरण शेवट हा काहींना धक्कादायक वाटतो. परंतु नाटककाराने त्या कृतीचं समर्थन केलेलंच नाही. उलट पायरी पायरीने अंतर्मुख करत जाणारं हे नाटक आहे. आपल्या अवती भवती घडणाऱ्या वास्तवाची दाहक धग त्यात आहे. परंतु ही चाहुल जाणवत असूनही तिचं अस्तित्वच नाकारण्याची आपली वृत्ती आहे. किशोरी अमोणकर, प्रभा अत्रे यांची कॅसेट लावून आपण आपले व्यवहार सुरूच ठेवतो, तसंच आपल्या आतल्या आवाजाची कॅसेट लावायची आणि ऐकूनही न ऐकल्यासारखंच करायचं हे या नाटकातलं म्हणणं किती यथार्थ आहे ! सोनाली कुलकर्णी व तुषार दळवी ही नुसती पात्रं राहत नाहीत तर आपल्या प्रत्ययकारी अभिनयाने ती आजच्या समाजमनाच्या निर्ढावलेल्या स्पंदनाचीच प्रतीकं बनून जातात. चंद्रकांत कुलकर्णींचं गहिरं दिग्दर्शन व प्रशांत दळवींचं लेखन यामुळे तरल तरी तीक्ष्ण अनुभव पोखरत राहतो—आपल्या आतल्या आवाजासारखा !

पिझ्झा नि भाकर

संसदभवनातील सेंट्रल हॉल म्हणजे गप्पा, वावड्या, अफवा (त्यांनाही दोन प्रकार: अधिकृत अफवा व अनधिकृत अफवा) यांचा अखंड चालणारा कारखानाच. स्वस्तात स्वस्त मिळणाऱ्या मस्त कॉफीचे घुटके घेत घेत खासदारमंडळी राजकीय पतंग या घुमटाकार हॉलमध्ये उडवत असतात. तेथील उदरभरणाची सोय ही एक खास चीज आहे. पोगल भातापासून ते बालूशाहीपर्यंत नाना चवींचे पदार्थ इथे मिळतात आणि किंमतही एकदम अल्प आहे. व्यंकटरामन संरक्षणमंत्री असतानादेखील या हॉलमध्ये यायचे व कॉफी क्लब चालवायचे. ते उपराष्ट्रपती झाले, तेव्हा त्यांच्या खास अलिशान दालनात हा कॉफी क्लब हलवण्यात आला होता. सीताराम केसरी 'बम बम' करीत मैफल जमवायचे. कोचावर मांडी ठोकून बसायचं आणि खासदारांना, पत्रकारांना त्यांची आवडती बालूशाही



खिलवत खिलवत राजकीय अणुस्फोट करायचे. हॉलच्या टोकाशी असलेल्या विक्री स्टॉलवर मिळणारे तुपाचे डबे घेऊन ते सावरत जाताना अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी दिसायचे. (आता ते कमळात दडवलेले अणुबॉम्बचे डबे घेऊन जात असावेत !) सभागृहात एकमेकांवर तुटून पडणारे नेते सेंट्रल हॉलमध्ये मात्र एकमेकांच्या गळ्यात गळा घालताना दिसतात, कारण येथे दिलजमाईचा माहोल असतो. लोकसभा व राज्यसभा या सदनातील चर्चांपेक्षा या हॉलमधील चर्चा कधी कधी रंगतदार होते. अर्थमंत्री यशवंत सिन्हा आपला पहिलाच अर्थसंकल्प मांडत होते, तेव्हाचीच गोष्ट घ्या. त्यावेळी सेंट्रल हॉलमध्ये वेगळ्याच विषयाला उकळी फुटली होती. 'पिझ्झा'चा तेथल्या खाद्यपदार्थांत नुकताच समावेश करण्यात आला होता. पण तो महाग आहे, यावर तावातावाने (आणि बहुधा पिझ्झाचा फडशा पाडीत) चर्चा चालू होती. सिन्हा पेट्रोलची दरवाढ करत होते आणि इकडे पिझ्झाचा दर खासदारांना सतावत होता. खासदारांना शाकाहारी थाळी पाच रुपयात व मांसाहारी थाळी ११ रुपयात मिळते. त्या तुलनेने पिझ्झा महाग होता, असं खवय्यांना वाटत होतं. बहुधा खासदारांच्या खान-पान समितीत हा प्रश्न चर्चेला येऊन पिझ्झाचा दर कमी केला जाईलच ! पण मुळात स्वदेशीचा मंत्र जपणाऱ्या भाजपप्रणीत सरकारमध्ये हा पिझ्झा शिरलाच कसा ? त्यातून त्याऐवजी शिवसेनेच्या खासदारांनी झुणकाभाकरीचा आग्रह धरायचा (त्याची एक रुपया किंमत महाग वाटेल, म्हणून झु-भा खाणाऱ्यांना स्टायपेंड द्यावा !) पण मराठी पाऊल स्वयंपाकगृहातही पुढे पडत नाही, हेच खरं ! पूर्वी विठ्ठलराव गाडगीळ यांनी श्रीखंड ही स्वीट डिश म्हणून सेंट्रल हॉलमध्ये सुरू केली होती. पण त्याला काही फारसा चवदार प्रतिसाद लाभला नाही. आता हॅम्बर्गर, हॉटडॉग, नूडल्स, स्पाघेत्ती ही मंडळीपण संसदेत प्रवेश करतील आणि थालीपीठ, कोथिंबीर वडी या स्वदेशी मंडळींची अवस्था लोकसभेचं तिकीट न मिळालेल्यांसारखी होईल आणि जरी तिकीट मिळून निवडणुकीत पराभव झाला, तरी राज्यसभेवर निवडून येण्याचा पर्याय या स्वदेशी खाद्यपदार्थांना कोठून उपलब्ध होणार ?

— कलंदर

मराठी वाङ्मयाचा (गाळीव) इतिहास असा एक धमाल, फर्मास लेख **पु. ल. देशपांडे** यांनी अनेक वर्षांपूर्वी लिहिला होता. त्याचा दुसरा भाग लिहिण्याचा त्यांचा मानस होता. काही पानं लिहून झाली देखील, पण पुरेशी सवड मिळेना व प्रकृती अस्वास्थ्य यामुळे लेख पुरा करणं जमेना. पण जेवढा लिहिला होता तेवढा भागही पु. लं. च्या अजोड विडंबन शैलीचा अवखळ अविष्कारच आहे. 'मौज प्रकाशन गृहा'च्या 'अघळ पघळ' या लौकरच प्रसिद्ध होत असलेल्या संग्रहातील हा आजवरचा अप्रकाशित लेख



तसे पाहिले तर महाराष्ट्र हा देशही आहे, राष्ट्रही आहे आणि काही संकुचित मनोवृत्तीचे लोक त्याला प्रांतही म्हणतात. मराठी भाषेत वास्तविक प्रांत म्हणजे डेप्युटी कलेक्टर (उदाहरणार्थ: "आमचे [illegible] नाशकातून मालेगावला 'प्रांत' म्हणून बदली झाली. इ. इ.") प्रांत याचा खरा अर्थ ज्या विषयात एखाद्याला गती नसून [illegible] तो विषय (उदा., "वास्तविक साहित्य हा माझा प्रांत नव्हे, परंतु आजकाल मराठी साहित्यात जे काही चालले आहे त्याविषयी या प्रसंगी दोन शब्द मी बोलणार आहे." नियोजित अध्यक्ष आयत्या वेळी न आल्यामुळे उभ्या केलेल्या कुठल्याही स्थानिक पुढाऱ्याच्या भाषणातले पहिले वाक्य) त्यामुळे महाराष्ट्राला 'प्रांत' म्हणणाऱ्या लोकांच्या अज्ञानाची आम्हाला सदैव कीव करावीशी वाटते. आमच्या भाषेत प्रांत हा शब्ददेखील कोणीतरी उपऱ्याने

मराठी वाङ्मयाचा (गाळीव) इतिहास : खंड दुसरा

—पु. ल. देशपांडे

मागाहून घुसडला आहे. तसे नसते तर देशपांडे, देशमुख, देशस्थ ब्राह्मण याऐवजी प्रांतपांडे, प्रांतमुख, प्रांतस्थ ब्राह्मण असे शब्द आले असते. श्रीपाद कृष्णांनीही "प्रिय अमुचा एक महाराष्ट्र 'देश' हा" म्हणूनच ठेवले आहे. त्यांचे पट्टशिष्य गोविंदाग्रज यांनी "मंगल देशा, पवित्र देशा, महाराष्ट्र देशा" म्हटले आहे. "मंगल प्रांता पवित्र प्रांता" असे त्यांना गणमात्रांची चूक केल्याशिवाय म्हणता आले असते. इंग्रजांचे राज्य आणि त्यानंतर काँग्रेसचे राज्य येण्यापूर्वी महाराष्ट्र देशच होता. सीमा उत्तरेस अटक (इथे मराठी घोड्यांची पाणी पिण्याची उत्तम सोय होती), दक्षिणेस कन्याकुमारी, पश्चिमेस अरबस्तान आणि पूर्वेस सूर्य अशा आमच्या चतुःसीमा होत्या. इंग्रजांनेदेखील आपले हिंदुस्थानात राज्य सुरू झाल्याचा डंका महाराष्ट्राची राजधानी पुणे इथे पिटून, तिथल्या शनवारवाड्यावर आपला युनियन जॅक चढवला. महाराष्ट्र हा देश नसता तर ते निशाण त्याला इतर कुठल्याही गावात चढवता आले असते. दिल्लीलादेखील इतक्या समारंभपूर्वक युनियन जॅकचे पहिले झेंडावंदन झाले नाही. पुणे जिंकले म्हणजे सारा देश जिंकला ही भावना खुद्द इंग्रजांची असूनही महाराष्ट्राला नुसता प्रांत म्हणणे हे केवळ दुसऱ्याचे बरे बघवत नसल्याचे लक्षण आहे. तात्पर्य, आज आपण ज्याला भारत देश म्हणतो तो महाराष्ट्राचाच एक भाग होता. पानपतात मराठ्यांचा पराभव झाला म्हणून महाराष्ट्र देश नाहीसा झाला म्हणणे म्हणजे वाटर्लूत नेपोलियन हरला म्हणून फ्रान्स नावाचा देशच नाही असे म्हणण्यासारखे आहे. (अरे जो लढेल तो हरेल !!)

तर अशा या महाराष्ट्र देशाला मुख्य म्हणजे इतिहास आहे. राम आणि कृष्ण हे वास्तविक महाराष्ट्रातलेच; कारण संयुक्त-प्रांत हे प्रांत आहेत, देश नव्हेत. महाराष्ट्र देशातलेच हे दोन प्रांत. एक तर खुद्द वाल्मीकी हे सासवडजवळच्या वाल्ह्याचे. वाल्ह्यात वाटमारी करत राहणाऱ्याचे ध्याड जडण्यापूर्वी 'वाल्या' या नावानेच ते कुप्रसिद्ध होते. त्यामुळे त्यांच्या रामायणातल्या पात्रांची नावे अस्सल मराठी आहेत. 'दशरथ' हे नाव तर त्यांनी मराठी प्रायमरमधून उचलले आहे. (पहा "दशरथ सरण रथ") राम, लक्ष्मण, सीता, कौसल्या (पहा: कौसल्याबाई कोपरकर यांची संगीत बारी) ही नावे अस्सल मराठी आहेत. उत्तर हिंदुस्थानात या नावांचे मग रामसरण, सीतापर्शाद, लछमनसिंग वगैरे झाले, पण मूळ रामायणात राम, लक्ष्मण अशी स्वच्छ मराठी नावे आहेत. गंगायमुनांचा उगम तर अस्सल मराठी आहे. (पहा: 'गंगायमुना डोळ्यात उभ्या का ?') कैकयी [illegible] 'केकाई'चा अपभ्रंश आहे [illegible] मत केकयी ही [illegible] कुठली [illegible] आहे. म्हणजे [illegible] बायका असतात हे ऐकून आम्ही थक्कच झालो. आजवर आम्ही शेकडो पठाण पाहिले आहेत. पण पठाणीण बाई पाहिली नाही. अगर पठाणीण बाई पाहिलेला माणूसही पाहिला नाही. असो.

ज्याप्रमाणे कोकणात कोबडीचं 'कोंबई'हून कोंबी झालं (कोबडी>कोंबई>कोंबी) तसेच कैकाई>केकाइ>केकयी असे झाले आहे. भटक्या जमातीतली बाई असल्यामुळे कौसल्या आणि सुमित्रा ह्यांच्यासारखी मुग गिळून बसणारी नव्हती. म्हणून तणतणून "माझ्या पोराला द्या राज्य — आन् सवतीच्या पोराला धाडा रानात शेनी गोळा करायला !" म्हणाली.

तात्पर्य, प्रभू रामचंद्रापासून जो देश खिडारात गाजतो आहे त्याला प्रांत म्हणून हिणवणे म्हणजे पुरणपोळीला फुलका म्हणण्यासारखे आहे.

प्रस्तुत ग्रंथात मात्र आम्ही आधुनिक महाराष्ट्राच्या सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, इतिहासाचे, वर्तमानाचे आणि भविष्याचे आलोडन करणार आहोत. ('आलोडन' ह्या शब्दाचा नक्की अर्थ आम्हालाही ठाऊक नाही. परंतु शब्दाच्या मध्यभागी 'लोड' असल्यामुळे कशाचा तरी टेकू घेत विचार करण्याला आलोडन म्हणत असावेत, असे वाटते.)

इसवी १८१७ मध्ये पेशवाईची समाप्ती झाली. ("समाप्तीप्रीत्यर्थ पर्वतीच्या पायथ्याशी प्रचंड ब्राह्मणभोजन [illegible] अलुपिष्टन साहेबाचे हातावर रावसाहेबांनी स्वराज्याचे उदक सोडून संकल्प सोडिला. यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरौ टोपीकराचे राज्य चालो, अशी एकच गर्जना झाली व [illegible] पुष्पवृष्टी [illegible] पडला. भोजनोत्तर [illegible] सभासमर्थी नदीकाठी जाताना शनवारवाड्यावर [illegible] देखत फिरंगी बावटा लागलेला पाहिला आणि अलिफिष्टन साहेबाकडे [illegible] अन्याचे [illegible] पेशव्यांची आणि मराठ्यांची स्वारी [illegible] नाही तो

फारच द. चं (काही अक्षरं लागत नाहीत) माजले होते,' असे धन्योद्गार शास्त्रीमंडळात निघाले. रात्रीच्या तमाशाच्या फडात काडूबाई शाहिरीने

प्राणसख्या जिवलगा हो आता तुम्ही
बिस्कुट पालून मिरवा
आन् राया मला पाव बिस्कुट भरवा—

ही नवी लावणी रचली व बकुळा कसबिणीने खुद्द अलुफिष्टन साहेबापुढे गाऊन बिदागी मिळवली. साहेबमजकुरांनी शाहीर कोडू थोडूस स्वतःचा जुना साहेबी जोडा बहाल केला." — अण्णासाहेबांची बखर.

महाराष्ट्र देश पांडुरंगाच्या कृपेने आणि मायभवानीच्या आशीर्वादाने बुद्धिवादी असल्यामुळे इंग्रजी अमदानीतल्या परिवर्तनाची त्याला झटकन कल्पना आली. वसंताची चाहूल कोकिळेला आधी लागते असे म्हटले आहे. त्याविषयी महाराष्ट्रात मतभेद आहे. पुण्यात कोकिळेची चाहूल लागल्यामुळे वसंत येतो, असे एक मत आहे आणि व्याख्यानांची चाहूल लागल्यामुळे वसंत येतो आणि मुख्यतः व्याख्यानांची पुष्प गुंफली जातात असे अर्थातच दुसरे मत आहे. तशी कोकिळा आणि वसंत ह्या संबंधात सामाजिक, राजकीय, नैतिक आणि धार्मिक पातळीवरून असंख्य मते आहेत. [illegible] कोकिळा पूर्वी कोकिळेप्रमाणे 'कुहू कुहू' न करता 'काहून काहून' करत, असे सुमारे साठाएक देशपांडे नावाच्या आणि एका वराडपांडे नावाच्या संशोधकाचे मत आहे. शिवाय कोकिळा ही संपूर्ण कृष्णपक्षीय असल्यामुळे ती महानुभाव संप्रदायाची आहे व ती 'कुहू

कुहू न करता हुकूहुकू म्हणत असे' [illegible] मत आहे. ते काहीही असले तरी वसंताची चाहूल कोकिळेला लागते किंवा काही लोकांना [illegible] भाव [illegible] घरबसल्या दृष्टान्त होतो त्याप्रमाणे मराठेशाही बुडणार आणि आपल्याला तारण्यासाठी [illegible] मारुतिरायाचे वंशज येणार हा साक्षात्कार बुद्धिवादी महाराष्ट्राला झाला होता आणि तेवढ्यात जार्ज जार्विसरावसाहेबांनी फतवा काढला की "बालबोध ग्रंथ अथवा प्रौढ ग्रंथ-चांगली भाषांतरे किंवा नवीन बालबोधास बक्षीस १०० ते ४०० रुपये, प्रौढ ग्रंथ... २ ते ५ हजार रुपये. याहून विशेष केल्यास विशेष शिफारस गौरनर यांस होईल." ह्या प्रसिद्धिपत्रकाने मुंबई, [illegible] पेण, पनवेल, गुहागर, चिपळूण, पुणे ह्या गावांत हलकल्लोळ उडाला. जिकडे तिकडे हेच ऐकू येऊ लागले "ऐकलंत काय पोंडभट ? बालबोध ग्रंथ-लेखनास सहस्रावधी सुरती शिक्क्यांची दक्षणा द्यावयास निघालाय टोपीकर !! — उगीच नाहीं म्हणाली, अहो देवांचें राज्य सुरू झालें !" (हे सर्व अनुस्वार निष्कारणी नव्या शुद्धलेखनाच्या नादाने उडवू नयेत. इथल्या अनुस्वारा-अनुस्वारागणिक अत्यानंदाने शेंडी उडाली आहे नि जिभेचे पाणीही.)

१८१९ साली रुपयास खंडीभर भात मिळत असे नि ताक-दूध विकत नसत. त्या काळी ग्रंथलेखनास हे एवढे पैसे म्हणताक्षणी असंख्य खुंट्यांवरच्या पडशा खांद्यावर आल्या आणि जोडे मुंबईच्या रस्त्यांच्या दिशेने झिजू लागले. घाटाघाटावर हेच संवाद ऐकू येऊ लागले. 'पारभट [illegible] काय विद्वत्तेस किंमत तुमच्या पेशव्यांच्या काळी ? नाहीतर कुंपणीसरकार पहा — ह्या [illegible] एखादा अध्याय उतरून नि लावा कडोसरीस शंभर रुपये !'"

'अहो गुणी गुण [illegible] हणमंतशास्त्री

"कसले शिंचे गुणी ? कसला काय ? टोपीकर शहाणा असेल असं वाटलं होतं का — पण ग्रंथास पाच नि सहा सहस्र ? वर्षाभरात दिवाळे वाजवून जाईल हो परत इंग्लंद देशास ! मी त्यास कळवलं आहे —"

"काय कळवलंत हणमंतशास्त्री —"

"इतर कुणासही हे ग्रंथाचे काम देऊ नकोस. मी तुमचे ग्रंथ दहादहा रुपयांत लिहून द्यावयास तयार आहे ! सोबत टोपीकर-प्रशंसेचे पंचवीस श्लोकही पाठवून दिले अलुफिष्टन साहेबास —"

"अहो — पण रावबाजींच्या बैठकीतल्या ना तुम्ही हणमंतशास्त्री — अहो, त्यांच्या पंक्तीतला केशरमिश्रित तुपाचा वास अजून येत असेल तुमच्या हातास —"

"अजाण आहांत ! तुम्ही ह्या इथल्या घाटावर, असेच एकाटप्प्या करीत नि वटसावित्रीची पोथी सांगत मरायचंत ! आम्ही थेट अलुफिष्टनाच्या बुटांकडून संधान बांधले आहे त्यांच्याशी — साहेबास कळतेय काय आपल्या देशी भाषेतले — [illegible] कनवटीस तीस चाळीस सहस्र लावावेत आणि वृद्धापकाळी पुन्हा श्रीक्षेत्री [illegible] हरि हरि करीत बसावे—"

पण साहेब जरा पूर्तेच निघाला. त्याने भलतेच कुठले तरी पदार्थविज्ञानशास्त्र, भूगोल वगैरे विषय देशी भाषेत लिहा म्हणून हेका धरला आणि शास्त्री मंडळींची पंचाईत [illegible] वाटेल तसे शिक लागला. भूगोलाचे गाऊ व 'गुजराथचा इतिहास' वगैरे ग्रंथ प्रसिद्ध करू लागला. इतिहास हा फक्त महाराष्ट्रालाच असू शकतो याबद्दल तत्कालीन (आणि काही अर्वाचीनही) पंडितांना मुळी संदेह [illegible] 'निबंध कल्पनाकल्पित' आहे असे अनेक विद्वान शास्त्री मंडळींचे मत पडले. टोपीकरांना हळूहळू नाही नाही त्या ग्रंथांनी [illegible] त्यामुळे [illegible] मराठी शाबूत राहून एक नवी अँग्लो-कर्नाटकुलर [illegible] मराठी [illegible] आणि तिचा अंमल आजतागायत चालू आहे. हे नव मराठी शिकण्यापेक्षा टोपीकराचे इंग्रजी शिकल्यास दोन्ही वेळचे हात ओले राहतील, असा पूर्ण विचार करून बुद्धिवादी महाराष्ट्र [illegible] खेड्यातल्या असंस्कृत लोकांवर आजवर संस्कृत फेकून त्यांना तो गप्प करीत असे. आता संस्कृत आणि त्यावर इंग्रजीचे [illegible] सर्वेला तो सज्ज झाला. त्या आनंदाने परशुराम तात्या उत्साहाने उद्गारले

(पान आठवर)

होमिओपाथिचा स्थिर इलाज
सर्व प्रकारच्या संधिवातावर
रूमाक्युअर
सांधेदुखीवर आराम
महिनाभराचे औषध केवळ ६० रुपयात
प्रमुख वितरक: अँन्डे लॅबोरेटरीज प्रा. लि. २८, सुनिल शॉपिंग सेंटर, जे. पी. रोड, अंधेरी (पश्चिम), मुंबई ४०० ०५८. फोन ६२० २३५७, ६७१ ६५९०

Announcement
VOLTAS LIMITED
Regd. Off: 19, J. N. Heredia Marg, Ballard Estate, Mumbai - 400 001.
Share Service Centre: Maneckji Wadia Building, 6th Floor, 127, M. G. Road, Fort, Mumbai - 400 023.

The Company has revised the rate of interest payable on its Fixed Deposit Scheme w.e.f. June 15, 1998, as under:-

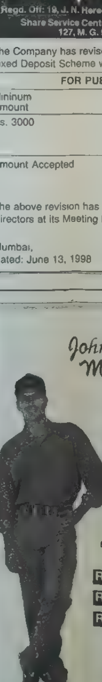
FOR PUBLIC/ SHAREHOLDERS

Minimum Amount	Period	Interest per annum
Rs. 3000	1 Year	11%
	2 Years	12%
	3 Years	14%

Amount Accepted : Minimum amount Rs. 3,000/- and higher amounts in multiples of Rs.1,000/-

The above revision has been approved by the Board of Directors at its Meeting held on June 10, 1998.

Mumbai, Dated: June 13, 1998
VOLTAS LIMITED
R. C. Thawani
SECRETARY

John Miller
BARE

MEGA EXCHANGE OFFER
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Rs. 200 off on Bare Classic Jeans
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बर्फ बनविते सुपर क्विक.
व्हर्लपूल क्विक-चिल. द अल्टिमेट कूलिंग मशीन.
व्हर्लपूल सादर करीत आहेत फ्रॉस्ट-फ्री रेफ्रिजरेटर्समध्ये एक नवी क्रांती नवा व्हर्लपूल क्विक-चिल.
जगभर नावाजलेल्या इंजिनियर्सनी बनविलेला व्हर्लपूल क्विक-चिल सर्वात जलद बर्फ बनवितो. शिवाय त्यात आहेत अनेक खुबी.

Whirlpool Quick-Chill
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THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

The golden rule is that there are no golen rules.
— GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

The Mess in U.P.

Uttar Pradesh is perilously close to paralysis, though not for any of the usual reasons. If it was a mere matter of the government of the day not being able to deliver, a quick-fix President's rule followed by elections would have done the trick. But elections have just been over, which is what makes the crisis that has gripped the country's most populous state so very extraordinary. The problem here is not that an existing government has collapsed, but that no government seems willing to come into existence. It would have been understandable if, in a repeat of the May 1996 events at the Centre, the non-BJP parties had united to keep out the BJP; the party with the largest share of seats is used to its splendid isolation. But what we have in U.P. today is the bizarre spectacle of no one party — or group of parties as in the case of the United Front — wanting to cohabit with another. The United Front's known allergy to the BJP apart, it has now added another name to its list of untouchables — the Bahujan Samaj Party. Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav will simply not have Ms Mayawati as chief minister The BJP, which initially seemed game for a deal with Ms Mayawati, has since backtracked, obviously because of the party's none-too-happy experience with the lady when she was in power last time. The current mood in the party is for taking a shot at government formation itself, though it has not got very far with its petition to the governor, Mr Romesh Bhandari Besides, it is anybody's guess how the BJP will acquire the wherewithal to prove its majority If this is merry confusion, Mr Kanshi Ram has added his bit to it by threatening to sit in the opposition. No doubt he has decided in his wisdom that if Ms Mayawati does not get to rule U.P., no one does.

All of this may well leave the Centre with no option but to bring the state under its rule, possibly through an ordinance, while keeping the assembly in suspended animation so as to allow parties to explore possibilities of forming a government. By an interesting coincidence, four of our chief ministers have chosen this very moment to ask for the abrogation of Article 356. At a meeting of the Inter-State Council, the chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Jammu and Kashmir are said to have forcefully argued against the article's use to settle political scores. Mr Karunanidhi was especially bitter about the dismissal of his government twice by adversarial Central governments There is some validity in this argument. The article has been repeatedly applied in states run by unfriendly parties, the most recent example being the ouster of the Gujarat government to which, ironically, the aforementioned chief ministers were party. Yet, we must ask ourselves if the kind of autonomy that is being talked about here is possible under the present Constitution. What, for instance, happens in U.P. if there were no provision for President's rule? Who rules if a government simply refuses to come into being? The abrogation of Article 356 is not a mere deletion of one inconvenient article; it has implications which go beyond the article, to the very structure of the Constitution. If fractured mandates are today's reality — they are and will be, given the increasing fragmentation of our polity — we may well be witnessing a teaser-trailer in U.P. An action replay at the Centre will be an impasse no Central rule can resolve. Is it, then, time to have a second look at our Constitution?

Fanning the Flame

The darkness that enveloped Neem ka Thana in Rajasthan during the total solar eclipse last year has now fallen upon the cause of women's rights, following the verdict of a trial court there, acquitting the accused in the Roop Kanwar sati case. The judgment, which comes nine years after the incident, has not made it clear whether the unfortunate young woman committed suicide or was murdered, abetment to both of which is punishable. The verdict delivered on the grounds of inadequate circumstantial evidence — the testimony of 31 witnesses produced by the prosecution was considered weak — is bound to be distorted by obscurantist elements to justify this heinous practice. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987, is clear that anyone glorifying sati should be penalised. To add teeth to this legislation the Rajasthan Sati Ordinance and another preventive legislation were promulgated to ensure that no attempt be made to promote such barbarism in the state which incidentally has 250 sati temples. Those who are now celebrating the acquittal have erroneously interpreted the verdict as upholding Rajput honour, and have promised many more Roop Kanwars. They cite the case of the legendary Rani Padmavati, who committed suicide to escape dishonour at the hands of an advancing enemy army, to justify their advocacy of sati. Such views should be challenged and it must be stressed that sati has never been a part of Hindu tradition Great Hindu social reformers like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Bankim Chandra were unequivocal in their condemnation of the ill-treatment of widows.

Those politicians who supported arguments in favour of sati nine years ago have not since disowned their pronouncements. The BJP's Mrs Vijaye Raje Scindia felt that "voluntary sati" was acceptable and Mr Kalyan Singh Kalvi of the Janata Party lauded Roop Kanwar's act. There is no evidence to suggest that any case of sati has been voluntary. Earlier, the hapless woman would be coerced into self-immolation to prevent her inheriting her husband's property. Today, sati involves more than family property and has become big business After Roop Kanwar's death, avarice prevailed in her village as donations from the faithful came pouring in and the sale of mementos boomed There was no expression of remorse or sorrow at her untimely death. The beneficiaries of her death have also, in blatant disregard for legal strictures, been commemorating the event with pujas and processions every year. These elements have been emboldened further by the state government's inaction. Such thinking cannot be combated by law alone In areas where there is a high level of female literacy, such incidents are so far unheard of. Rajasthan and Bihar, which have witnessed sati deaths in this decade, have two of the lowest levels of literacy in the country Female empowerment along with literacy are the first steps in the battle against obscurantism. The panchayati raj system under which a million women have already been empowered has, in this context, a vital role to play in India's tryst with modernity.

Back Home Early

Macaulay Culkin, the *Home Alone* kid, has retired into a life of riches and fame, having inspired a whole generation of American children to act their way into the good life. Nearly a thousand children, accompanied by parents, showed up for a casting call for *Home Alone III* recently in New York. "I'm really a big fan of Macaulay Culkin ... and I'd like to be famous". The speaker is only eight years old, but he cannot be faulted. Macaulay has really blazed a trail that cannot but beckon both children and their parents. Things are reportedly not quite hunky-dory between his parents but then, wealth takes its toll. These are small prices to pay for one who, at 14, had Elizabeth Taylor and Michael Jackson for friends, and danced the nights away at Jackson's fabled ranch with gay abandon while women vied with one another for his attention. "It's good to be rich and famous," he admitted in a TV interview, and was rumoured to have had a string of romantic affairs before he turned 15. Wordsworth described the child as the father of man; Macaulay terminated his childhood rather early in a hurry to become a man, "... but when I became a man, I put away childish things," and he picked up adult toys early on. The requisite qualifications for the *Home Alone III* kid include being both mischievous and lovable, with an "angelic smile" and a "devilish mind". A tall order, apparently, but many kids in America believe that they have it all, and so do their parents. One of them will succeed Macaulay soon and make it to the world of glamour, money and women — the big time so to speak. "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child," are lines he will have to forget For he will have to play the child as adults want the child to be, and will then graduate to an adult's life overnight There will surely be ample compensation. But too much too soon is not easy to accept, and he may find himself home alone too early in life

Freedom from Elected Government
Towards Guided Democracy

By MADHAV GODBOLE

OVER the last couple of years, there have been growing demands in India to free the various institutions critical to the survival of the democratic polity from the elected government People are clamouring to have independent and autonomous institutions which will discharge their responsibilities without fear or favour The concept of supremacy of the elected government is being questioned There is a total lack of public confidence in elected government, irrespective of the political party to which it belongs

One cannot but begin with the new relationship between the President of India and the Prime Minister The President's refusal, in view of the impending Lok Sabha elections in 1996, to sign the two ordinances providing for reservation for the converts from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to Christianity and reducing the period of electioneering, marked a watershed, particularly in the background of his repeated refusal to accept the proposal for the appointment of a new chief vigilance commissioner earlier Equally significant was the President's insistence on getting the resignation of Mrs Sheila Kaul from the office of governor so as to facilitate the CBI enquiry against her

Decision Reversed

The judiciary asserted its independence by reversing its earlier decision regarding the appointment of judges to the high courts and the Supreme Court. It also pronounced the terms and conditions of service, including the age of retirement, of officers belonging to the lower judiciary in the states. Effectively, the elected government will have no say in these important areas any longer

The role of the higher judiciary has undergone a sea change Public interest litigation has assumed an importance which the authors of the scheme had never envisaged. The recent decisions of the higher courts in these cases are an eloquent commentary on the failure of the elected governments to govern responsibly and to act in accordance with the Constitution. Whether one calls it judicial activism or the reluctant acceptance of responsibility by the judiciary in areas which fall clearly in the domain of the executive, it has to be admitted that the authority of the executive arm of the government has been permanently impaired. But the more disturbing fact is that the duly elected governments in power have become so bereft of moral authority that they do not have the courage to oppose these persistent inroads into their domain by the judiciary

It is only when the Supreme Court started monitoring the *hawala* case, nearly five years after the Jain diaries were seized, that chargesheets were filed against those concerned. The cases against Chandraswami which had been suppressed for years owing to the political patronage and support he enjoyed at the highest government level have been brought before the courts

This scandalous history of tardy investigations into politically sensitive cases involving the high and mighty has given rise to demands to take the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) out of the purview of the government and place it under an independent statutory authority answerable only to Parliament The recent decisions of the Delhi and Patna high courts taking over the investigation of the highly sensitive Jharkhand and fodder scam cases respectively from the supervision of the CBI, have long-term implications for governance

Limited Success

For want of separate investigating agencies in most cases, the institution of Lok Ayuktas created in several states has achieved only limited success. It is not surprising, then, that there has been a demand for creating separate investigating agencies which would be answerable only to the Lok Ayuktas. The model Lok Ayukta Bill for comprehensive legislation, presented by the Implementation Committee constituted by the Third All-India Conference of Lok Ayuktas held in Hyderabad in 1991, had, among others, laid stress on this aspect in enhancing the effectiveness of the institution

The question of the unholy nexus among criminals, bureaucrats and politicians has been causing increasing concern in recent years The arrangements suggested by Mr N N. Vohra, former Union home secretary, in his report to establish a committee under the chairmanship of the home secretary to co-ordinate the work of the existing agencies is unlikely to serve any purpose These cases involving powerful vested interests will have to be investigated by a high-level constitutional functionary with protection from political interference in his appointment and removal. Here again, an independent investigating agency is inescapable if any worthwhile success is to be achieved

The blatant mismanagement of the All-India Services by the states and the Centre has given rise to large scale demoralisation within them and raised serious questions about their future. It cannot be denied that these services provide an important link in Centre-state relations. To find a long-term and lasting solution to the problems faced by the services, it has been recommended that statutory civil service boards should be established in all states and the Centre and that their recommendations should be binding on the government concerned. Any departure from the recommendations must be for reasons to be recorded in writing

Open Governance

Economic liberalisation was expected to lead to less bureaucratic controls and more open governance The experience during the last four years has been quite to the contrary There are persistent demands for greater transparency and openness Even foreign delegations visiting the country have made such demands Unfortunately, government decisions in a number of crucial sectors such as power, telecommunication, railways, coal, steel, petroleum and others have raised serious questions of undue favours and underhand dealings

Perhaps for the first time, arbitrary decision-making by the government and its unfettered discretionary powers are being seriously questioned in the courts. Two such prominent cases pertain to allotment of petrol pumps and LPG agencies by the former minister of petroleum, Mr Satish Sharma, and the allotment of government accommodation and shops on out-of-turn basis by the former minister of state and the Union minister for urban development.

The subsidies in electricity rates for the agricultural consumers and low tariff charged to domestic consumers have ruined the finances of state electricity boards. The rates charged to water users in irrigation do not even cover the maintenance costs, leave alone their capital costs. The government spends more than Rs 1,000 crore each year in subsidising the price of domestic gas. These and other decisions are giving rise to demands that independent regulatory and pricing bodies should be established whose decisions should be binding on all concerned

These instances only bring out the failure of democratically elected governments on several fronts in providing responsible and mature leadership to the country. We are, therefore, inexorably going towards our own system of a guided democracy — with checks and balances to avoid the pitfalls of a conventional democracy.

(The author is former Union home secretary.)

UF Toughens Stand On Patents Issue

By PRADEEP S. MEHTA and N. SURESH

THE United Front government is in the process of formulating a confrontationist stand in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on the patents issue and over other emerging trends to widen WTO's ambit The patents issue will be a test case to gauge the reactions of the developed countries in the economic sphere India is likely to reiterate the stand that "we know what is good for us" especially with regard to the changes it has to make to comply with the trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPs) agreement Perhaps the government is left with no other alternative on this issue because of the broad national consensus against changing the Patents Act, 1970, to allow product patents in drugs, pharmaceuticals and agro-chemicals

Initiated by the Narasimha Rao government in 1995, the amendment to allow patenting of products (not permitted so far) has yet to get parliamentary approval. Given the fluid political situation and the known opposition of major political parties towards making such a major change in the Patents Act, the stalemate is likely to continue for some more time. The Indian government is, however, bound by the commitment to make the Patents Act GATT-compatible while joining the WTO which came into existence on January 1, 1995.

There is a strong view within the government now that the only way out of this situation is to take a tough stance. Even at the cost of reneging an international commitment, the government is likely to obtain parliamentary approval against making any changes in the Patents Act, inform the WTO about the collective will of this nation and await its response rather than undertake the impossible task of pushing through the amendments

Experts Worried

Many experts are worried about this tough posture of the UF government While they agree that the proposed changes in the Patents Act will affect the country's interests, especially in the pharmaceuticals and agrochemicals sectors, they do not want the country to take the wrong step of confronting the world on this issue Reneging an international commitment will hit the country's credibility and the repercussions in the economic and trade sectors could be immediate and crippling

Experts do not see any way out for this country except to make the patents law GATT-compatible. The only possibility is to cushion the adverse impact. One suggestion is to record the country's serious reservations on this issue in the implementing legislation itself, as the U S has done, and comply with WTO guidelines This could be used later, however, to seek changes in the TRIPs provision during its next review period

A similar confrontation is building up over the issue of the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) Being developed by the 27-member club of rich nations — the OECD — the MAI may become the benchmark for a similar treaty in WTO and members asked to sign it if they want foreign direct investment Articulating the government's views on this issue recently at a seminar in Delhi, commerce secretary Tejinder Khanna emphasised that India would not accept such a treaty in WTO at any cost, and called for discussions on it at UNCTAD The response to the U S -led moves to introduce labour standards through a social clause in the international free trading agreement was similar India will say "no" to its introduction even if the whole world wants it and point out that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) should continue to deal with the issue

Reactive Stand

Such a reactive stand may harm the country's interests in the long run India had taken a similar position against the TRIPs agreement in the Uruguay Round and refused to participate in the discussions on this issue. We had to give in at the end, however, and agree to remain in the multilateral trading system History may repeat itself on the MAI issue also because India is one of the targeted countries to open up the FDI front for the developed nations And we are courting the multinational companies to invest in many crucial sectors of the economy

Not many important countries support India on TRIPs and MAI. Even at the recent meeting of 14 southern nations held in New Delhi to drum up support on India's stand on MAI, Brazil, an important ally of India on trade issues, opposed our stand For, Brazil which has now become a net exporter of capital knows clearly where its interests lie on such an issue This is a serious setback to India's effort to build a coalition against introduction of an investment treaty in WTO

Policy-makers should learn from past mistakes, especially from the TRIPs discussions, and participate in the international deliberations on the investment treaty. It would be easier for Indian negotiators to moderate the discussions and minimise the impact of many proposed provisions which may later become thorns in India's flesh

Sacred Space

Lord Mahavira said to Gautama, "When Dharma is not seen by the seer directly it is seen through the wire mesh of words. Conjecture is the wire mesh that covers that window Multiple sects and systems result from such an indirect observation. The path suggested to you, Gautama, is the direct path of the seer. Be vigilant and a seer of Dharma."

Uttaradhyayana Sutra 10.31

Everyone knows enough to condemn what he takes to be no good, but no one knows enough to condemn what he has already taken to be good. This is how the great confusion comes about, blotting out the brightness of sun and moon above, searing the vigour of hills and streams below, overturning the round of the four seasons in between. There is no insect that creeps and crawls, no creature that flutters and flies, that has not lost its inborn nature. So great is the confusion of the world that comes from coveting knowledge'

Chuang Tzu 10

I now want to know all things under the sun, and the moon, too. For all things are beautiful in themselves, and become more beautiful when known to man. Knowledge is Life with wings.

Kahlil Gibran

I keep six honest serving-men
(They taught me all I knew);
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who

Rudyard Kipling

Mughal Mania

By VANDANA VASUDEVAN

HUSSAIN Ali Beg taught Mughal history at a college in Agra for 40 years. More than once he had refused a promotion which would have required him to teach modern or ancient history — for, Mughal history was his passion. A passion which had suffused his entire being, gripped his life like a vice and left him permanently suspended somewhere between the 16th and 18th centuries. Sometimes he'd get so involved with his lecture that he would suddenly break into a dramatic monologue in abstruse Persian, as if he had been magically transported to a Mughal monarch's court Then, at the sound of 30 students giggling uncontrollably, he would snap out of it and excuse himself

Hussain Ali had lived all his life in the twin cities of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, amidst the forts and tombs of the great Mughals. As a little boy, he had spent hours in the Agra Fort, pretending to be a *jahanpanah*, commanding imaginary soldiers and dispensing justice to unseen subjects He had walked in and out of the Bulund Darwaza, perfecting the regal gait of an emperor returning from a conquest

While other teenage boys spent their evenings at the cinema, young Hussain Ali would wander around the Jodha Bai Palace and Panch Mahal, imagining beautiful Mughal queens amidst the ornate marble colonnades.

It didn't help that his father got him married to a girl named Mumtaz Hussain Ali began to take her religiously every evening to the Taj Mahal where he would spout poetry under the moonlight, like he was sure Shah Jahan had. He stopped when his wife, a pragmatic, hard-working woman, preferred using the time to earn some money by stitching clothes for the neighbours. His six children bore names like Babar, Dara Shikoh and Gulbadan which, along with having a slightly mad father, made life rather tough at school

The onset of family responsibilities only served to push Hussain Ali further into his medieval world While one of his children lay ill, Hussain Ali would be musing about how Mughal history would have changed if Prince Khusrav had not rebelled against Jahangir. If his wife complained about precarious finances, Hussain Ali would leave for the Moti Musjid and grieve over Aurangzeb's harsh treatment of Shah Jahan. He would stay there till the *chowkidar* pushed him out at nightfall The more his family nagged him about prosaic household matters, the more aloof he became.

One day, after a particularly ugly scene, Hussain Ali walked out of the house. That was the last anyone ever saw of the history teacher Some years later, a neighbour returned from Aurangabad with the news that he had seen a tramp resembling Hussain Ali, near Aurangzeb's tomb. His sons searched extensively but their "slightly mad" father was lost to them forever

Today, if you visit Fatehpur Sikri, Hussain Ali's sons will tell you the story of their father's grand obsession. You can find them in the small eatery that they run near the Bulund Darwaza. It's called "Mughal Sweets and Snacks"

CURRENT TOPICS

Starving Widows

KABUL'S 30,000 war widows are among the worst-affected victims of the repressive Taliban regime that seized control of Afghanistan two weeks ago The Taliban-imposed ban on female employment has reduced the capital's war widows to destitution. Abandoned to fate by their husbands' families, they have now been denied their only chance of survival in an exceedingly hostile economic environment

Many of Kabul's war widows are beggars or have been earning a bare subsistence wage as household help or by putting such skills as knitting and sewing to use. The Taliban's insistence that women stay at home has now put an end even to these meagre options. Ostracised by society, these unfortunate women tend to live alone or in groups. Theirs is a strange, tragic sub-culture. many of them have found shelter, as squatters, in the bombed-out husks of houses in the hills that surround the city. While their children have been forced to forage for food, they themselves hover at the edge of starvation.

A survey of 5,000 such widows carried out by Care International in the Afghan capital showed that 76 per cent of them had no income and survived by scavenging or on loans. Related research conducted by international relief agencies also shows that more than 23,000 of Kabul's children are malnourished, while 290,000 children under the age of five suffer from stunted growth

Traditionally, an Afghan widow is protected by her husband's family. But this familial obligation has long ago become a casualty of the 17-year civil war. Given the abject economic situation that has reduced most Afghans to penury today, life in the shadow of the Hindu Kush has become, to employ a Hobbesian phrase, a "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" business

Cause and Effect

WHEN the politically ambitious espouses a cause whose fallout he can benefit from, he always becomes a suspect. West Bengal's police and information minister, Mr Buddhadev Bhattacharya, is discovering this to his chagrin ever since the no 2 in the state cabinet enthusiastically supported the short-lived proposal to make Mr Jyoti Basu the Prime Minister A sizable section of Mr Bhattacharya's comrades in the CPM both in West Bengal and Delhi read in his bid to champion Mr Basu's cause an attempt to clear the decks for his own elevation to the chief ministerial *gaddi* in Writer's Building Efforts have since then been on to put the minister down in his place.

Mr Bhattacharya has not helped matters by insisting that the ruling CPM take a hard line on the politically sensitive separate Uttara Bangla state demand. Not only the GNLF, but Marxists from the Hills also support the demand and even held a massive rally in Darjeeling to press it

Mr Bhattacharya's saving grace seems to be the fact that Mr Basu still stands by him. But with criticism against him growing within the party, it is only a matter of conjecture whether and how long the chief minister will be able to protect his junior colleague Indeed, in a significant development, not only did the party's Darjeeling district unit deny Mr Bhattacharya an invitation to attend its meeting, but his colleague, Mr Anil Biswas, who attended, was required to assure the agitated members that the state party has an open mind on the Uttara Bangla demand

In the Dark

ENMEN, a teenager from the primitive Jarawa tribe of the Andamans, has done a pioneer's work for his people. He has spent two full months in civilisation and returned home. According to reports from Port Blair, Enmen had entered a locality at night along with some others to burgle houses, outside the Lakralunta forest where he lives. Chased by villagers, he had shinned up a coconut tree, but fell and injured himself The villagers were more curious than angry and shifted the first Jarawa to be caught to a hospital in Port Blair where he underwent treatment.

Though restless initially, he adjusted gradually and seemed to be enjoying the food and attention For anthropologists, this was a sensational event. The majority of Jarawas remain hostile though some groups have been befriended in recent years, thanks to the initiative taken by a Border Security Force official in the early '70s. Their usual response to overtures from non-tribals is to shoot poisoned arrows. After many fishermen and wood-cutters fell victim to their arrows, the administration had to raise the Bush Police to patrol the fringes of the forests reserved for the Jarawas to prevent confrontation between them and the islanders

Enmen has broken new grounds for, perhaps, either side While whatever experts gathered from him about his tribe will gradually be known, the pity is what stories he has carried home about us will never be known When he was taken back to Lakralunta, hundreds of his people jumped aboard the ship, hoisted him on shoulders and returned to the jungle dancing

LETTERS

Art vs Freedom

I

Sir,—The vandalism of paintings by Husain at the Husain-Doshi *gufa* in Ahmedabad, which is itself a classic example of imaginatively blended art and architecture, is saddening

I am a great admirer of Husain's work and his various endeavours in the field of art and even had an opportunity to work with him briefly while conducting art and painting workshops for young artists at Delhi and Mumbai airports about eight years ago (his favourite then was Sridevi).

Being an architect and a keen student of Indian art, architecture and iconography, I have studied Husain's sketch of Saraswati, with his beautiful linework, which is the characteristic of his style — and I beg to differ with his interpretation

According to Indian iconographic principles (the word 'Hindu' would invite mistakenly a 'fundamentalist' label), Saraswati is portrayed as a beautiful woman clad in white clothes *(shubhra vastravrita)*, seated or standing on a white lotus *(svet padmasana)* and having two or four arms. She plays the veena, symbolising music and the fine arts When four-armed, her emblems are the veena, a book (indicating her association with learning) and a rosary Her usual mount is a swan *(hamsa)*, a symbol of purity and knowledge, and occasionally a parrot *(suka)* or a peacock. Her *mudra* is *vyakhyana*

Iconography literally means 'writing with images' and these images were the outcome of a beautiful interaction between philosophy, religion, literature and the arts which had its own meaning and purpose and still continues to excite the admiration of the civilised world Why should these beautiful symbols of our art and culture be destroyed in the garb of 'artistic and intellectual freedom '

I had to face the ire of Mr Husain once simply because I misspelt his name with an extra 's' which he did not approve; if he is so sentimental about the spelling of his name, why should he assume liberty to tinker with iconographic language which has a deep symbolic meaning? Or maybe by stripping Saraswati, the image of purity of thought and action, Husain intends to emphasise the present moral bankruptcy of our society

"Nations are created by poets and artists," said Ananda Coomaraswamy, that great savant of our art and culture, "not by merchants and politicians " In this context, Husain should realise his social responsibility To quote Dr Radhakrishnan "Consideration for the feelings of others is the greatest mark of culture." And Mr Husain is an honourable man.

PRABHAKAR BEGDE
New Delhi

II

Sir,— Kudos to the level-headed and sane English press, led by your daily for denouncing the campaign against the paintings of M F Husain Husain is a true Indian and each of his paintings is a celebration of a myriad Indian traditions, unlike the vitriolic articles of semitised anti-Semites who dominate the BJP-Sena leadership Those who have mocked at Sri Hanuman's parentage in their journals and paraded a heroine of B grade movies as the epitome of Ma Janaki should think twice before denouncing a person who understands Indian religious beliefs and practices much better than them.

As a practising Shakata, I claim that nude or semi-clad depictions of ritually significant goddesses are quite frequent in various tantric cults, which have inspired some of the best paintings of Husain. Unlike the popular perception, even Ma Saraswati is often represented with uncovered breasts, as seen in an image from Dhara kept in the British Museum (see *The Wonder That Was India*, Rupa, 1989, p 428)

We describe the mother as *pinonnat payodhara* (heavy-breasted), so that she can draw us to her bosom and provide solace. We worship Her as Yoni in Kamakhya and Madhubani for she symbolises all creativity We celebrate Her menstruation under different traditions, for that symbolises the physical and intellectual fertility of our land

We Indians do not entertain any qualms, unlike the Victorian puritans, against these symbols of divine motherhood If the neo-Victorians see anything else in these symbols, it is because of their own dirty, perverted thoughts As Goswami Tulsi Das has said, "It is what you feel from within, that you see in the representation of God "

It is high time the BJP came out of its cocoon of trader caste western Indian ethnocentrism There is much more to Indian religion than just Laddu Gopal and Sewah. This [illegible]

[illegible]

FROM THE Times ARCHIVES

OCTOBER 17 1896

THE LAST SUNDAY SERVICE AT ST PETER'S CHURCH

The last Sunday services in St Peter's, Mazagon, were held in the church on December 31 At the evening service there was a large congregation In the general thanksgiving thanks were returned to God for all the blessings vouchsafed in past years to the worshippers in St Peter's. The sermon was preached by Fr Biscoe who came to India with Fr Page in 1874, when in response to Bishop Douglas' invitation the Cowley Fathers first commenced their work in Bombay

The text of the sermon was Rev XXI-6 The preacher spoke of the fitness of the words of the text, "it is done," for a sermon on the last day of the year, and also for the last sermon in St Peter's, Mazagon He spoke of the state of the building 30 years ago when the church was bare and unadorned, when a miserable table served for an altar and contrasted it with its present state enriched as it was with beautiful memorials in the altar and the pulpit

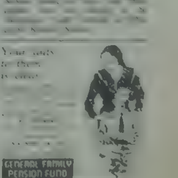
The process of dismantling the Church will not take place for a month or two The services next Sunday will be held in the boys school room

SEPTEMBER [illegible]

POLITICAL CONFERENCE PROHIBITED

FROM OUR OWN [illegible]

[illegible]





The DDA office and the jeeps which were burnt by residents of the Dabri area in south-west Delhi during riots on Tuesday.

Demolition leads to mob violence in south-west Delhi

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, October 16.

Two persons, including a 13-year-old boy, were killed and 17 were injured when the police fired on a 10,000-strong mob in the Dabri area of south-west district of Delhi on Tuesday morning.

However, agencies report that five persons were killed in the incident. The mob, that reportedly turned violent, was protesting against the demolitions carried out by the district task force (DTF) in the Nasirpur and Mahabir enclave area of Dabri on Monday.

The police fired 27 rounds, lobbed 274 teargas shells and used 72 handshells to quell the riotous mob. So far, 43 persons have been arrested by the police on charges of rioting. The injured also include 31 policemen.

Asserting that there was no need for the police to open fire, Delhi chief minister Sahib Singh sought action against police personnel involved in the firing. He added that a high-level probe would be conducted into the incident. He announced Rs 5 lakhs compensation to the relatives of each of the two dead.

The DTF is said to have cleared nearly 88,000 square yards of land after demolishing several houses and shops on Monday. By Tuesday evening, about 150,000 square yards had been cleared.

According to the local police, a mob of nearly 6,000 persons collected near the Dabri crossing around 8.30 a.m. on Tuesday to protest against the demolitions. The mob was allegedly led by the area MLA Dharam Das Solanki. Mr Solanki could not be contacted despite repeated attempts.

The mob apparently got very agitated when they saw the bulldozer and trucks rolling in from the Pankha Road side for demolitions to be continued on Tuesday.

Additional commissioner of police Maxwell Pereira said, "they first tried to damage the Dabri police station. They then tried to block the trucks and bulldozer on the main Dabri road."

Officials of the DTF and the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) were supposed to collect at the Dabri police station at 9 a.m. to carry out further demolitions. The police resorted to a mild cane-charge to clear the traffic.

The crowd retreated but again gathered near Mahabir enclave and reportedly burnt a DTC bus. Mr Pereira said, "By the time the police reached the spot the crowd had increased substantially to more than 10,000 and they resorted to heavy stone-pelting."

He added, "the police team was surrounded from three sides by them and they had to resort to firing in self-defence." The mob also reportedly burnt a mini-bus of the Central Reserve Police Force and a police motorcycle.

"The mob even tried to burn our police picket in Mahabir enclave but when they did not succeed they burnt the local office of the DDA. The entire building and several vehicles parked there were totally damaged," Mr Pereira said.

Local police officials also claimed that the mob burnt several DDA flats which were under construction.

British Council plans educational road shows in cities

The Times of India News Service

CHENNAI, Oct. 16.

The British Council of India has planned to bring together about 100 representatives from 60 British universities and colleges for an 'educational road-show' covering five cities — Chennai, Bangalore, Calcutta, Mumbai and New Delhi

Billed as the 'British education festival', the two-week programme of exhibitions and special events starts on Monday from Chennai. The idea is to showcase the varied courses offered in British educational institutions

A British Council spokesman said a highlight of the festival would be demonstrations of theatrical make-up and costume by the London College of Fashion. In New Delhi, a focus on hospitality and catering studies would add to the festival flavour with a display on a range of culinary arts, from pizza making to pancake tossing.

Visiting academics would address seminars on selected courses offered by the British educational institutions. They would also be available for individual counselling. Over 3,000 Indians go to Britain for higher studies every year. According to the British Council, the number of international students choosing the U.K. for higher studies has increased to 1,20,000 from 50,000 in 1984. The council spokesman attributed this to the high quality of education and low staff students ratio in the U.K. educational institutions. Considering the length of many courses, the costs are often less in Britain than in the U.S. or Australia for similar educational programmes, said the spokesman.

The next stop is Bangalore, where the U.K. science and technology minister Ian Taylor is expected to open the festival on October 24. The road-show would then move on to other cities, winding up in New Delhi on November 2. Organisers believe that the festival would help give students planning to study abroad a 'flavour of British education'

IRS-1D will be launched in mid-1997

The Times of India News Service

BANGALORE, October 16.

The second generation Indian remote sensing satellite — IRS-1D — is expected to be launched by the next flight of the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV) from the Sriharikota range.

According to Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) chairman K. Kasturirangan, India may not go in for acquired launch of IRS class of satellites in the future.

The launch is likely to take place during the middle of next year, he said pointing out that the mission profile was being worked out.

The IRS-1D will be similar to the IRS-1C launched on December 28 last year by the Russian rocket, Molniya.

According to the ISRO chief INSAT-2D, identical to INSAT-2C is likely to be launched by an Ariane rocket in February next year. ISRO, which plans to incorporate an improved meteorological payload besides communication payloads as in INSAT-2C and INSAT-2D, has scheduled the launch of INSAT-2E for 1997-98.

Bangaloreans cry foul as LPG delivery boys make a fast buck

By Avinash Thombre

The Times of India News Service

BANGALORE, October 16

Bangaloreans may be seething with the incredibly long waiting period for their liquid petroleum gas (LPG) cylinders but taking a cue from Union minister of state for petroleum and natural gas T.R. Baalu, who is rumoured to have diverted Bangalore's cylinders to Chennai, delivery boys here are doing some diversion of their own.

The waiting period can be anything between 15 days and two months — depending on how tight fisted you are. The modus operandi of these delivery boys is very simple. Once a gas connection holder books for a refill, the delivery boys instead of doing their work, sell the cylinder to an unauthorised consumer or to hotel owners, for a premium. For a cylinder costing Rs 135, the delivery boys get an amount ranging from Rs 150 and Rs 175.

When the eligible consumer finds his refill has not arrived and approaches the agency, he gets the answer that there are no stocks or that there is a scarcity of delivery boys. "I booked for a refill on August 8 with my agency Mantrap Enterprises and was given a waiting list number of 3,140. After a wait of over one-and-a-half months and repeated complaints to the agency as well as to the local consumer complaint cell of Hindustan Petroleum, I got a refill on October 6," said Ashok Kumar, a resident of Koil Street in Ulsoor. "I was offered a refill immediately, provided I pay these boys Rs 25 extra," Mr Kumar added.

"Since we are officially holders of a gas connection we are denied kerosene from the ration shop and my family had to buy kerosene from the black market and manage cooking on stove for that two month period," an agitated Kumar said.

Denying allegations made by Mr Kumar, the godown incharge of Mantrap Enterprises, said, "The delay is because we have received only 500 cylinders in place of 2,000.

Unauthorised consumers have a dual advantage, since they can buy a duplicate regulator and get a stove, as well as avail of the public distribution system's kerosene quota, while the legitimate consumers are left in the lurch with no refill as well as no kerosene.

The boys further demand Rs 5 to Rs 10 to deliver the refills to the kitchen of the consumer, even when the receipt clearly mentions that delivery charges are included in the bill. "If we refuse to pay, they say, we are not your servants and just drop the cylinder on the door," another consumer Manoj Nair said. The demand goes up when the consumer stays in an apartment, based on the floor one stays on — Rs 8 for the first floor and so on.

However, Umapathy of Hindustan Petroleum Consumer Complaint Cell defends, "Our role is limited. We take the complaint, register the collection number and the agency name. Then we call up the agency and ask them to clear the consignment."

INDIA ENTERPRISE

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राशिभविष्य

- आदित्य भारद्वाज

दि. २१ ते २७ मे २०००

ग्रहस्थिती : सूर्य-मंगळ व शुक्र वृषभेला, राहू कर्केला, हर्शल-नेपच्यून व केतू मकरेला आणि प्लूटो वृश्चिक राशीत राहील. २६ मे रोजी बुध मिथुन राशीत प्रवेश करील

मेष : आरोग्यावर ताण

पुढील आठवड्यात गुरू वृषभ राशीत जाईपर्यंत थांबावे लागेल. धीराने वागावे लागेल. मेहनतीवर अधिक भर द्यावा लागेल [illegible] लागेल. हातून चुका होणार नाहीत, याकडे जास्त लक्ष द्यावे लागेल. वृषभेचा शुक्र [illegible] वृषभेचा बुध मदत करील. आरोग्यविषयक तक्रारींकडे विशेष लक्ष द्यावे लागेल. शुभदिनांक : २३, २४, २५, २६ व २७

वृषभ : बुधाची मदत

शुक्रवारी मिथुन राशीत प्रवेश करणारा बुध द्वितीयस्थानी आल्याने मदत करील. परिस्थितीत आता हळूहळू सुधारणा होईल. मार्गावरील अडथळे दूर होऊन आशेचा किरण दिसू लागेल. नवीन जबाबदाऱ्या स्वीकारताना मात्र जास्त काळजी घ्यावी लागेल. [illegible] मेहनतीस न्याय मिळू शकेल. पूर्वार्धापेक्षा उत्तरार्ध जास्त चांगला जाईल. शुभदिनांक : २६ व २७

मिथुन : धीराने घ्यावे लागेल

गुरू [illegible] पूर्वीची रेंगाळलेली कामे पूर्ण करण्याचा प्रयत्न करा. आप्तेष्ट मित्रांशी हितसंबंध सुधारण्यासाठी जास्त प्रयत्न करावे लागतील. बोलताना जास्त सावधानता ठेवावी लागेल. कर्तव्यपूर्तीकडे जास्त लक्ष द्यावे लागेल. आरोग्य चांगले राहील. कामात उत्साह राहील. शुभदिनांक : २१ व २२

कर्क : सबुरीने वागणे चांगले!

सूर्य, मंगळ व शुक्र शुभयोगात आहेत. पुढील आठवड्यात वृषभ राशीत प्रवेश करणारा गुरूही वर्षभर अनुकूल होईल. थोडी सबुरी ठेवा. लवकरच परिस्थितीत अधिक चांगला बदल होईल. तुमच्या मार्गातील अडथळे दूर होतील. नोकरीत सहनशील रहावे लागेल. [illegible] धन्यता वाटेल. शुभदिनांक : २१, २२, २३ व २४

सिंह : नवीन ओळखी होतील

बुध, गुरू मदत करतील. तब्येतीच्या तक्रारी आता दूर होतील. [illegible] वातावरण प्रसन्न राहील. खर्च वाढला, तरी तो योग्य कारणांसाठी होईल. वादविवाद, स्पर्धा जिंकाल. महत्त्वाची कामे याच [illegible] द्या. शुभदिनांक : २३, २४, २५, २६ व २७

कन्या : बुध अनुकूल होणार !

शुक्रवारी मिथुन राशीत प्रवेश करणारा बुध दशमस्थानी [illegible] नवीन संधी प्राप्त होईल. कल्पकता दाखवून कामे करून घ्याल. बोलून इतरांवर छाप पाडू शकाल. त्यांची मने जिंकून घ्याल. राजकारणातील तुमचे डावपेच यशस्वी होतील. वेळ चांगला जाईल. जुन्या मित्रांच्या भेटीगाठी होतील. आरोग्यात छान सुधारणा होईल. शुभदिनांक : २६ व २७

तूळ : डाव जिंकू शकाल

गुरू, शुक्र [illegible] काम यशस्वी करून दाखवाल. व्यवहारातील हुकुमाची पाने हाती येतील. डाव जिंकता [illegible] माणसे भेटतील. काही भाग्यवंतांना अनपेक्षित धनप्राप्ती होईल. विशेष घटना घडतील. नोकरीच्या शोधात असणाऱ्यांना कामे मिळतील. आरोग्यात सुधारणा होईल. कामात उत्साह वाटेल. शुभदिनांक [illegible]

वृश्चिक : कामे यशस्वी होतील

शुक्रवारी मिथुन राशीत प्रवेश करणारा बुध अष्टमस्थानी शुभयोगात येत आहे. पुढील आठवड्यात गुरू वृषभ राशीत प्रवेश करील. लवकरच परिस्थितीत चांगली सुधारणा होईल. पूर्वी न जमलेली कामे आता जमू शकतील. राहून गेलेली [illegible] होईल. अर्थप्राप्ती चांगली झाल्याने [illegible] आरोग्य ठीक राहील. कलावंतांचा छान मूड राहील. शुभदिनांक : २३, २४ व २५

धनू : कर्तबगारीची संधी

सूर्य, मंगळ व गुरू धनू राशीवर प्रसन्न आहेत. स्पर्धा, पैजा जिंकू शकाल. नवीन जबा[illegible] संधीचा योग्य उपयोग क[illegible]

मकर : परिस्थितीत अनुकूल बदल

सध्या बुध-शुक्र शुभयोगात आहेत. पुढील आठवड्यात वृषभ राशीत प्रवेश करणारा गुरू वर्षभर अनुकूल राहील. मागील काही दिवस प्रतिकूल गेले होते. आता परिस्थितीत अनुकूल बदल [illegible] कर्तव्यपूर्तीचे समाधान मिळेल. [illegible] झाल्यामुळे खर्चाचे प्रश्न सुटतील. इतरांना दिलेला शब्द कसोशीने पाळाल. [illegible] लाभ होतील. शुभदिनांक [illegible]

कुंभ : पूर्वार्ध जास्त चांगला

बुध, शुक्र व शनी प्रसन्न आहेत. चांगले ग्रहमान लाभल्याने [illegible] हितसंबंध सुधारतील. स्पर्धा जिंकता येतील. कार्यक्षमता वाढवून कामांचा उरक ठेवाल. पूर्वार्धात काही योगायोगाच्या, अनपेक्षित फायदा करून देणाऱ्या घटना घडतील. दैवाची मर्जी लाभेल. सरकारी कामे मार्गी लागतील. शुभदिनांक : २१, २२, २६ व २७.

मीन : मने जिंकू शकाल

शुक्रवारी मिथुन राशीत प्रवेश करणारा बुध चतुर्थस्थानी शुभयोगात येत आहे. तो परिस्थितीत अधिक अनुकूलता निर्माण करील. [illegible] सामंजस्य दाखवून प्रश्न सोडवाल. इतरांची मने जिंकून घ्याल. काही भाग्यवंतांना अनपेक्षित लाभ होतील. वेळेचा छान उपयोग कराल. आरोग्य ठीक राहील. कामात उत्साह राहील. शुभदिनांक : २१, २२, २३, २४ व २५.

कहाणी एका शतायुषी राष्ट्रपुत्राची

(पान ५ वरून)

केला आहे. ती घटना १९३०च्या सविनय कायदेभंगाच्या मोहिमेतील [illegible] केल्यामुळे आपली सुटका झाली, असा उल्लेख श्रीकांतजींनी केला आहे; तो १७ फेब्रुवारी १९३१ ते ४ मार्च १९३१ या पंधरा दिवसांत महात्माजींनी व्हाइसरॉय आयर्विनबरोबर केलेल्या [illegible] करारानुसार सत्याग्रहींची मुक्तता [illegible]

२३ ऑगस्ट १९४२च्या अंकात 'हरिजन'चे संपादक किशोरीलाल मश्रूवाला यांनी लिहिलेल्या लेखात अहिंसेची मर्यादा पाळून सरकारी यंत्रणा विस्कळित करण्याचे प्रयत्न करावेत, असे सुचवले. 'तारा तोडणे, रेल्वेचे पूल उखडणे, छोटे पूल उद्‌ध्वस्त करणे याला आक्षेप घेण्याचे कारण नाही. मात्र त्यापूर्वी जीवित रक्षणासाठी भरपूर सावधगिरी बाळगावयास हवी.' मश्रूवालांनी घालून दिलेली ही लक्ष्मणरेषा भूमिगत कार्यकर्त्यांनी [illegible] उधना याच्या दरम्यान असलेला एक छोटा पूल उद्‌ध्वस्त केला आणि तेथून पलायन केले.

तारखा न देता, कालक्रम न सांभाळता केवळ स्मरणशक्तीवर विसंबून श्रीकांतजींनी आपल्या आयुष्यात घडलेल्या घटनांचे कथन केल्यामुळे [illegible] आणि त्यांचे काही परिचित विचारतात, "आपणास गांधीजींचा आणि विनोबांचा सहवास केव्हा लाभला होता? आम्ही तर आपणास त्यांच्याबरोबर कधीही पाहिलेले नाही." तेव्हा श्रीकांतजी उत्तर देतात, "गांधी-विनोबा यांच्या विचारांचा सहवास मला लाभला असल्याचा पुरावा जगाला सादर करण्याची मला जरूर वाटत नाही. जे घडले आहे ते मी जाणतो, माझं मन जाणतं आणि मनातला परमेश्वर जाणतो." पुराव्यानिशी सत्य सांगण्याची सवय जडलेल्या इतिहासाच्या अभ्यासकाला श्रीकांतजींचं हे उत्तर समाधानकारक वाटत नाही. त्याच्या सुदैवाने [illegible] श्रीकांतजींना कन्याकुमारीपासून [illegible] पदयात्रा केल्याची आणि परतीच्या वाटेवर उत्तर प्रदेश आणि मध्य प्रदेश या राज्यांतून पायी चालत वर्धा येथे पोचल्याची [illegible] या पदयात्रेत [illegible]

[illegible] श्रीकांतजींनी कांचनमुक्तीचा, ऋषिशेतीचा प्रयोग केला.

गांधीजी आणि विनोबाजी यांच्या कार्याचं मूल्यमापन करताना श्रीकांतजींनी लिहिलं आहे, "गांधीजींच्या आंदोलनातील जोश [illegible] विनोबाजींचं आरोहण. गांधीजी धाव घेत होते, तर विनोबा पदयात्रा करीत होते. इंग्रजांनी भारतीयांशी बांधलेली गाठ तोडून गांधीजी लोकांना मुक्त करू पाहत होते, तर विनोबांचं काम होतं धनिक आणि दरिद्री यांची गाठ बांधण्याचं. गांधी व्यवहारज्ञानी, तर विनोबा ब्रह्मज्ञानी. [illegible] असल्यामुळं त्यावर लोकनीतीचा रंग चढणं अवघड झालं होतं. राजनीतीच्या तीर्थात स्नान करून लोकनीतीचा टिळा लावण्यासाठी मग काही जण विनोबाजींच्या यात्रेत सामील झाले, असे वाटत असे." विनोबाजींच्या भक्तांना श्रीकांत आपटे यांनी परखडपणे व्यक्त केलेली ही मतं किती रुचतील कोण जाणे?

[illegible] डिंडाला या गुजरातेतील गावांमध्ये अनेक वर्षे रचनात्मक कार्य केल्यानंतर १९५८ साली श्रीकांत आपटे पंजाबात गेले आणि जालंदरमध्ये त्यांनी सेवाआश्रम सुरू केला. आजही त्यांचं कायमचं निवासस्थान म्हणजे तो आश्रमच आहे. अलीकडं काही कार्यक्रमासाठी मी नाशकात चार वेळा गेलो, तेव्हा श्रीकांतजींचं नाव मी प्रथम ऐकलं. विसाव्या शतकातल्या महाराष्ट्राच्या इतिहासाच्या मी लिहिलेल्या पाच खंडांमध्ये गांधीजींकडून प्रेरणा घेऊन स्वातंत्र्यलढ्यात उडी घेतलेल्या मराठी भाषक स्वातंत्र्यसैनिकांच्या कार्याची नोंद मी केलेली आहे. त्यांच्यापैकी बऱ्याच जणांच्या मुलाखतीही मी घेतल्या आहेत. त्यांच्यापैकी कोणीही श्रीकांत आपटे यांच्या कार्याबद्दल मला माहिती [illegible] मी लिहिलेल्या इतिहासातील [illegible] जाणवलं. देवकिसन सारडा यांनी मला श्रीकांत आपटे यांच्या हिंदी आत्मकथा [illegible] सध्या 'देशदूत'च्या रविवार पुरवणीत 'मैं' या देहात्मकथेचा प्रा. दुर्गा दीक्षित यांनी केलेला मराठी अनुवाद प्रकाशित होत आहे. अनुवादिकेनं संदर्भ टिपांची जोड देऊन तो पुस्तकरूपानं प्रसिद्ध केला, तर इलेक्ट्रॉनिक प्रसिद्धी माध्यमाच्या प्रकाशझोतापासून दूर राहिलेल्या या वयोवृद्ध राष्ट्रपुत्राची थोडीशी ओळख मराठी वाचकांना होईल, असं मला वाटतं.

श्रीकांतजींना दुरून पाहिलं, तर विनोबाजींचा भास होतो. [illegible] भगवी वस्त्रं न धारण करताही संन्यस्त वृत्तीनं जगणाऱ्या श्रीकांतजींच्या विचारविश्वातलं चार वर्णांचं उदात्तीकरण मला पसंत नसलं आणि आत्मा-परमात्मा ही परिभाषा इहवाद्यांना आवडण्यासारखी नसली, तरी एक मुलखावेगळा माणूस म्हणून त्यांना एकदाही न भेटता त्यांची प्रतिमा शब्दांनी रेखावीशी मला वाटली. विसाव्या शतकाच्या अखेरीस अशा माणसाचं नुसतं असणंही मला महत्त्वाचं वाटतं. 'सारेच दीप कसे मंदावले आता,' असं वाटत असताना या दिव्याचा मंद प्रकाशही पुरेसा वाटतो.

प्रतिक्रिया

समिती आणि दुर्गा वाहिनी या वेगळ्या संघटना

'सेविका ऐवजी दुर्गा' या शीर्षकाखाली चौकटीत छापलेला मजकूर वाचून (म. टा. मैफल, १९ मार्च २०००) वाचकांचा गैरसमज झाला असेल, तर तो दूर करण्यासाठी खाली काही खुलासा देत आहे.

१)'सेविका' व 'दुर्गा' यांचे कार्यक्षेत्र, कार्यपद्धती, कार्यप्रणाली भिन्न भिन्न असून दोन्ही कार्यांची गरज आहे. म्हणून 'सेविका' आणि 'दुर्गा' असे म्हणणे [illegible]

२)मावशींनी १९३६ साली स्थापन केलेली 'राष्ट्र सेविका समिती,' त्यांनी घालून दिलेल्या कार्यपद्धतीप्रमाणेच, गेली ६३ वर्षे कार्य करीत आहे. तिच्यात कधीही खंड पडलेला नाही.

३) राष्ट्र सेविका समिती ही संघ विचाराची महिला शाखा नसून स्वतंत्रपणे कार्य करणारी हिंदू महिला संघटना आहे.

४)एकेकाळी सेविकांमध्ये ब्राह्मणवर्गीय महिलाच अधिक प्रमाणात असत, परंतु सध्या भारताच्या सर्व प्रांतांमध्ये समितीचा विस्तार झालेला असल्यामुळे सर्व स्तरांतील महिला समितीमध्ये येत असतात. यामुळेच १९९६ साली दिल्ली येथील षष्ट्यब्दिपूर्ती संमेलनाला १०हजारांहून अधिक आलेल्या महिलांमध्ये लघु-भारताचे चित्र दिसले.

५)'राष्ट्र सेविका समिती'चा विस्तार भारताबाहेरील काही देशांमध्ये झाल्यामुळे तेथील शाखांना सुसूत्रता आणण्यासाठी, जन्मापासूनच परदेशांमध्ये वास्तव्य असलेल्या, ६० तरुणींचे १५ दिवसांचे एक अभ्यास-शिबीर पुणे येथे १९९७ साली घेतले गेले.

६)परदेशात [illegible] अधिकारी व विस्तारिका परदेशात जात असतात.

७)समितीचे शैक्षणिक विभाग, सांस्कृतिक विभाग, सेवा विभाग इत्यादी प्रकल्प कार्यरत आहेतच. शहरी, ग्रामीण व आदिवासी क्षेत्रांमध्येही कार्ये चालू आहेत.

८)समितीची 'आधारनिधी'ची योजना असून कांडला बंदर, ओरिसा, कारगिल यांसारख्या राष्ट्रीय आपत्तींमध्ये समितीने तन-मन-धनाने आपले योगदान केलेले आहे. कारगिल युद्धामध्ये सरकारी नोकरीत नसल्यामुळे ज्यांना सरकारी मदत मरणोत्तर मिळणार नव्हती, अशा सैन्याला मदत करणाऱ्या बिनसरकारी मृत व्यक्तींच्या कुटुंबियांना समितीने आपला मदतीचा हात पुढे केलेला आहे.

९)समितीचा 'राष्ट्र सेविका' हा वार्षिक अंक प्रतिवर्षी जानेवारीमध्ये प्रकाशित होत असतो. [illegible]

निर्मला नि. वाड,
नाशिक विभाग प्रमुख,
राष्ट्र सेविका समिती

समिती ही स्वतंत्र संघटना

धनंजय गोडबोले यांचा लेख (१९ मार्च) वाचला. राष्ट्र सेविका समिती ही एक स्वतंत्र संघटना असून तिचे कार्य आज सर्व भारतात व भारताबाहेरील देशांतही चालू आहे, हे मी एक समितीची पदाधिकारी म्हणून सांगू इच्छिते. दुर्गावाहिनीसारखी न्यूज व्हॅल्यू समितीच्या कार्याला नाही, ही आपली अडचण समजू शकते. परंतु अज्ञानावर आधारित लेखन छापण्यापेक्षा प्रत्यक्ष कार्याची माहिती घेऊन लेख छापणे शोभून दिसले असते.

— वीणा गोंधळेकर,
मुंबई ०६

शब्दखेळ

रचना : चारुलता

१	२		३		४	५	
६			७	८			
		९					१०
११	१२		१३		१४	१५	
	१६	१७			१८		
१९					२०		२१
				२२		२३	
२४			२५				

आडवे शब्द :

१)सुमार. ४)चव्हाटळ.
६)नामस्मरण. ७)भरपूर तूप असलेले. ९)धृतराष्ट्राची मुले.
११)नूतन १३)अपमान
१६)पण १८)प्रत्येक
१९)शासन. २०)पारवा.
२३)हात २४)पान
२५)मळा.

उभे शब्द :

१)मालक. २)बढाई मारणे.
३)तात्पुरता, किरकोळ. ४)चक्र.
५)पत. ८)वारा. १०)एक पक्षी.
१२)उपयोग १४)किल्ल्याच्या तटाभोवतीचा चर १५)मित्रा
१७)कोल्हापूरचा प्रसिद्ध तलाव.
१९)जवळ २१)पातळ
२२)ठेचा.

[illegible]

शब्दखेळ क्र. २चे उत्तर

उ	दा	ह	र	ण		नृ	प
द	दा	त			उ	त्र	ळ
क		व	र	क	त		म
	सा	ल	स		र	व	र
बा	व		पा	षा	ण		म्ह
बा	र	दा	न			स	ण
	म	ल		धू	पा	र	ती
पु	ती	न		त	ठ	की	ल

नाट्य, वाद्यवृंद, चित्रपट, मनोरंजन

ब्रेन स्टॉर्म - २०००
कार्टून ड्रॉइंग कालावधी २९ ते ३१ मे
पत्रकारिता मार्गदर्शक श्री नीलप वैद्य कालावधी २३ ते २९ मे
टी.व्ही.माध्यमाचे शिबीर मार्गदर्शक श्री नंदू घाणेकर कालावधी २७ मे पासून सुरू
शिल्पकला मार्गदर्शक श्री विवेक जाधव कालावधी २० मे ते ३ जून
लोकनृत्य मार्गदर्शक श्री अरूण चाटीवाले कालावधी २३ मे ते १ जून
चित्रकला मार्गदर्शक श्री.यादव कालावधी २८ मे ते ४ जून
कॅसिओ वादन सुगम संगीत मार्गदर्शक श्री.बापू कामेरकर कालावधी २५ मे ते ३ जून
शिबीर स्थळ - दादर
अधिक चौकशी : ४३२ ७३६०

विनोदसम्राट कमलाकर वैशंपायन यांचे
३१ मे परळ, २ जुलै बोरिवली, ३ सप्टें. गिरगांव (गणेशोत्सव)
(गणेशोत्सवाचे बुकिंग चालू)
हसरा गजरा
कमलाकर वैशंपायन संपर्क : अरविंद शर्मा
फोन : 745 1338 फोन : 411 4158

स्मिता तळवलकर सादर करीत आहेत
मिलाप (कांदिवली) रोज सकाळी १० वा. ★ पूजा (बोरिवली) रोज दुपारी १२ वा.
सुयोग निर्मित
घराबाहेर
वितरक : श्वेतांबर डिस्ट्रीब्युटर्स, फोन : ४३२००२१

क्या कहना!
लिबर्टी

दि. २१ मे जळगाव २२ मे बुलढाणा.
दि. २३ जालना, दि. २४ परभणी, दि. २५ बालगंधर्व, पुणे.
दि. २८ लोणावळा.
संपर्क : गिरीशकुमार जगताप, पुणे. फोन (०२०) ४४५०२५०
आज रात्री जुन्नर
पं. विनोदभूषण आल्पे
संपर्क : ०२०-५२८३९३५/३८५५६४८

MAX
जोश

गुरू. २५ रात्री ८।। गडकरी रंगायतन
मामाची कमाल ! भाच्यांची धमाल ! प्रश्नांची गोलमाल !
ज्योतिषावर आधारित 'इकसार जमलेली' धम्माल कौटुंबिक कॉमेडी !
श्रीभवानी प्रॉडक्शन्स
जमलं बुवा एकदाचं!
आनंदा नांदोसकर, दिनेश, अतुल, हेमंत, अंशु, कविता, सुजाता आणि सखाराम भावे
आज रवि. २१ मे - स. ११ दामोदर, परळ
मंगळ. २३ मे - स. ११ प्रबोधनकार, बोरी
बुधवार २४ मे - स. ११ गडकरी, ठाणे
गुरूवार २५ मे - स. ११ विष्णुदास भावे, वाशी
तीन धम्माल नवीन बालनाट्ये
आपण जर आमचा कार्यक्रम पाहिला नसेल तर मनाला हुरहूर लागेल, परंतु पाहिला असेल तर पुन्हा कधी पाहावयास मिळेल याची खंत राहील असा आपल्या बजेटमध्ये असणारा एकमेव वाद्यवृंद
चंद्रकांत निर्मित
स्वप्न स्वराचे
मराठी वाद्यवृंद

कारगिल कारवाई स्लाइड शो
आणि युद्धकथाकथन
एक मुलुखावेगळा कार्यक्रम
प्रस्तुतकर्ता डॉ. (मेजर) विनय वाइकर
दि. २२, २३ व २४ परभणी दौरा
दि. २५ गोरेगाव (इंटरनॅशनल डेअरी एक्स्पो २०००)
दि. २७ वसई, दि. २८ सकाळ - कालिदास हॉल, मुलुंड
दि. २९ मीनाताई हॉल, पिंपरी. दि. २ व ३ - नाशिक
दि. ७ प्र. ठाकरे हॉल, बोरिवली ★ दि. १७ शिवाजी मंदिर
5640653/5670409
निर्माता दिग्दर्शक : प्रदीप शिंदे
शहेनशहा
एक बिलंदर तीन कलंदर

कानोकानी

नामी नाट्यशास्त्र अभ्यासक्रम!

मुंबई विद्यापीठानं त्यांच्याशी संलग्न असलेल्या 'गरवारे जोजर्नीम शिक्षण व विकास संस्था' व 'मुंबई मराठा साहित्य संघ' यांच्या सहकार्यानं मराठी नाट्यशास्त्राचा पदविका अभ्यासक्रम (पार्टटाइम) सुरू केला असून त्याचं उद्घाटन नुकतेच कालिनी येथील विद्यानगरीत झाले. या अभ्यासक्रमाचं जे माहितीपत्रक यावेळी वाटण्यात आलं, त्यात अफलातून गफलती व विनोदही आहेत! 'मराठी रंगभूमीचा इतिहास' या विषयात १८४३ ते १९१० ते १९२० ते १९६० असं कालखंड विभागले आहेत. त्यात १९२० व १९६० हे का ते कळत नाही. १९६०नंतर सुरू झालेल्या प्रायोगिक रंगभूमीत विजय तेंडुलकर, महेश एलकुंचवार, गो. पु. देशपांडे व अच्युत वझे यांच्या नावांचा समावेश नाही. पण रत्नाकर मतकरी, वसंत कामत, शं. ना. नवरे यांची नावे मात्र आहेत. हा अभ्यासक्रम तयार करणारे कोण 'खुशीराम सुखवाल' आहेत कोण जाणे? तेंडुलकर यांना कानेटकर, कालेलकर, बाळ कोल्हटकर, माधव मनोहर यांच्याबरोबरच सर्वसाधारण उल्लेख आहे — (शिरवाडकर, जयवंत दळवी यांची नावेच नाहीत) खरं तर विजय तेंडुलकर हे अखिल भारतीय पातळीवर कीर्ती संपादन केलेले नाटककार आहेत. इतर भाषांत त्यांची नाटके अनुवादित झाली असतात. अलीकडे तर त्यांच्या नाटकांचा हिंदीत महोत्सव झाला होता! पण एवढ्या महत्त्वपूर्ण नाटककारावर या अभ्यासक्रमात एक संबंध पेपरच नाही. त्याउलट [illegible] गोखले यांचे विशेष स्थान व त्यांचं [illegible] एक संपूर्ण पेपर [illegible] एकूणच नाट्यसंगीताला या अभ्यासक्रमात फारच महत्त्व दिलं असून [illegible] आहे. [illegible] हे विषय दिले आहेत, पण वेशभूषा, रंगभूषा हे नाहीत (हे 'नाही' हे 'भूषणावह' नाही). या दोन वर्षांच्या अभ्यासक्रमात दुसऱ्या वर्षी नेपथ्य, प्रकाश योजना हे जास्त महत्त्वाचे गहन विषय यायला हवे होते. 'अभिनय' या सदरात गंमतच केली आहे! त्यात आधी 'खेळ', व्यायाम, मग नृत्य व स्वतःने करावयाची तयारी असे म्हटले असून [illegible] 'प्रोजेक्ट' असं नमूद केलं आहे. खरं तर 'अॅन अॅक्टर प्रिपेअर्स' [illegible] स्टॅनिस्लावस्की यांच्या [illegible] ग्रंथात मात्र [illegible] विचार या ग्रंथात मांडला [illegible] गमतीशीर! स्टॅनिस्लावस्की यांचा 'बिल्डिंग अ कॅरेक्टर' हा [illegible] ग्रंथ असून त्याचा कुठेही उल्लेख नाही. पिरँदेलो (इटली) व [illegible] नाटककारांचे नागरिकत्वच या पाठ्यक्रमात बदलून [illegible] असे म्हटले आहे. अमेरिकेतील 'अॅब्सर्ड' थिएटरची कल्पना असा एक उल्लेख आहे; पण खरं तर अॅब्सर्ड थिएटरची चळवळ फ्रान्स व युरोपमध्ये [illegible] अभ्यासक्रमात जपानच्या प्रख्यात काबुकीचा मात्र [illegible] नवे शोध लावण्यात आले आहेत. मराठी लोककलेत [illegible] इत्यादी प्रकारांच [illegible] यक्षगान हा प्रकार मराठीत कसा काय हा यक्षप्रश्न आहे [illegible] आपण यक्षगानवरही दावा करू लागलो तर [illegible] (व पुढ्ढा [illegible] यांना लवकरच भाषण ठोकावं लागेल आणि यक्षगानावरही [illegible] पाळी येईल. 'व्यवस्थापन' या सदरात एक अत्यंत महत्त्वाची व मौलिक सूचना दिली आहे ती अशी! 'भूमिका निश्चित झाल्यावर वेशभूषा निश्चित करून पोशाख आणावा.' (वा! वा! बरं झालं हे सांगितलं ते! भूमिका निश्चित होण्यापूर्वीच पोशाख आणण्याची प्रथा कोणत्या या नाट्यशास्त्रात आहे? पण समजा उद्या भूमिका ठरायच्या आधीच कृष्णाचा पोशाख आणून ठेवला व ऐनवेळी मायकेल जॅक्सनची भूमिका ठरली, तर उगाच गोंधळ व्हायला नको म्हणूनच ही सूचना दिली असावी.) नाटक करण्याआधी त्याचे पुस्तक, हस्तलिखित मिळवावे; ते वाचावे, अशा महत्त्वाच्या सूचना कशा दिल्या नाहीत कोण जाणे! मुंबई विद्यापीठाच्या माजी कुलगुरू स्नेहलता देशमुख यांच्या हस्ते हा उद्घाटन सोहळा झाला. त्या आता पार्ल्यात राहत असल्यामुळे पार्ले व नाटक यांचा अतूट संबंध आहे. तेव्हा त्या या नाट्यशास्त्रवर्गांना मार्गदर्शन करतील, असं गरवारे संस्थेच्या प्रतिनिधींना सांगितलं. आता त्या मार्गदर्शन करणार की दिग्दर्शन हे ठाऊक नाही! या अभ्यासक्रमासाठी बी. ए. आर. अतुल यांच्या गाजलेल्या प्रतिभा प्रतिष्ठानने सात लाखांचे अनुदान दिले असून साहित्य संघात हा अनुदानाचा अमृत कलश आणला आहे! अंतुले यांच्या जीवनावर आधारित 'मी हरलो, तरीही मीच जिंकलो' अशा नावाचे नाटक लिहिण्याची स्पर्धाही विद्यार्थ्यांसाठी आयोजित करता येईल. तसेच अभिनय सम्राट व जातिवंत 'स्टिरिओफोनिक' वक्तृत्व असलेले छगन भुजबळ व तेच ते स्वगत न कंटाळता वारंवार म्हणून दाखवणारे कोकणवीर नारायणराव राणे या दोघांना या नाट्यशास्त्र केंद्रात प्रशिक्षक नेमले, तर अनेक पट्टीचे सराईत नट तयार होतील, यात शंकाच नाही. या नाट्यशास्त्र अभ्यासक्रमाचे उद्घाटन झाले, त्याचवेळी हॉस्पिटल व्यवस्थापनाच्या एका अभ्यासक्रमाचेही उद्घाटन झाले. आता खरं तर या दोन विषयांचा संबंध काय? बहुधा नाटकात थिएटर असतं व हॉस्पिटलमध्ये 'ऑपरेशन थिएटर' असतं हे साम्य लक्षात घेतलं गेलं असावं. ते काही का असेना! नाट्यशास्त्राचा जो अभ्यासक्रम आहे, त्यावर तात्काळ शस्त्रक्रिया करण्याची गरज आहे. योगायोगाने मराठी नाट्यसृष्टीत पेशाने डॉक्टर असलेली मंडळी भरपूर आहेत. तेव्हा त्यांच्या ज्ञानाचा फायदा उठवून ही शस्त्रक्रिया करणं सोपं जाईल!

कवयित्रींचा दबाव गट!

मराठी साहित्याच्या काव्यप्रांतिक [illegible] पन्नाशी पार केलेल्या आडकर बाणदारपणा (या शब्दाचा) [illegible] मधुवंती सप्रे यांना मराठीत कवयित्रींचा संघटित दबावगट नाही, याची फारच खंत वाटत आहे, असे दिसते. "कवयित्री सतत मागे राहिल्याने जनमानसात त्यांची कविता रूढ अर्थाने सजली नाही", असे त्यांनी लोकमत (७ मे) मधील एका लेखात म्हटले आहे. कवयित्री मागे मागे राहतात हा त्यांनी घेतलेला मागोवा किती जणांना पटेल याची शंकाच आहे. आता खुद्द मधुवंती सप्रे यांचेच पहाना. गेली दहा वर्षे कवितेची चळवळ उभारण्यासाठी त्या अहर्निश झटत आहेत. त्या सतत काव्य काव्य असं ओरडत असतात. (काही नतद्रष्टांना 'काव काव' असं एक यंत्र म्हणून.) सप्रे जर मागे मागे राहणाऱ्या असत्या, तर आंबोल महाराष्ट्रात त्यांचा एवढा डंका वाजला असता का? 'सदैव कवयित्री तू पुढेच जायचे' असाच त्यांचा पवित्रा असतो. शिरीष पै, विठ्ठल वाघ व पाडगावकर यांच्याप्रमाणे कवयित्रींनी मैदान जिंकलं, फड गाजवला असं कधी घडलं नाही, असेही शल्य त्यांनी व्यक्त केलं आहे. म्हणजे कुस्त्यांचा फड भरतो, तसा कवयित्रींचा फड भरवावा काय? तसं झालं तर तिथे प्रतिभेचं 'झुंजुमुंजु' व्हायच्या ऐवजी 'झिंज्या-बिंज्या' व्हायचं!! साहित्य संमेलनात 'काव्यकट्टा' ऐवजी असा फड भरविला, तर तेथे कट्टर मंडळी'ची निश्चितच गर्दी उसळेल! पण एकूणच फड मारल्याविना कविता रुजणार नाही, असं मानणंच चुकीचं आहे. कित्येक फडकरी कवींची कविता फडफडीत असते. तेव्हा मुळातच कवितेत कस असेल, तर ती टिकेल, रुजेल व बहरेल! कवयित्रींच्या विकासात संसार ही धोंड आहे, असा त्यांचा समज असावा. कारण त्या लिहितात: "संसारात पडलेला कवयित्री तिच्या [illegible] त्यापायी आपल्या प्रतिभेचे पाय छाटीत असतात. कुठे किंवा जाणवत त्या क्षणी ती लिहायला बसू शकत नाही." म्हणजे संसारी कवयित्रींनी आपल्या मनाचा मायक्रोवेव्ह सतत ऑन करून ठेवायला हवा; म्हणजे लिहावंसं वाटलं की, त्यांनी गॅसवरचा तवा बाजूला करून कागदाचा ताव ओढावा व पोळ्यांऐवजी कविता लाटाव्यात. भजी तळताना एकदम स्फूर्ती आली, तर आधी भावनेच्या कढईत कविता तळाव्यात. थोडक्यात, 'लाटणे फेकून द्या व लेखण्या हाती धरा,' असाच संदेश त्यांना द्यायचा आहे, असे दिसते. खरोखरी जर असा काव्यसंसार बहरला, तर महाराष्ट्रात कवितांचा महापूर येईल व 'टँकरमुक्त' महाराष्ट्राऐवजी 'काव्यमुक्त महाराष्ट्र' अशी घोषणा द्यावी लागेल. अलीकडेच भारताची लोकसंख्या एक अब्ज झाली. मराठीतील [illegible] यांची शिरगणती केली, तर त्यात कवयित्रींची संख्या नक्कीच जास्त भरेल! मराठी काव्याच्या इतिहासातील पाचव्या [illegible] कवयित्रींमध्ये मधुवंती सप्रे यांना स्वतःचं नावही समाविष्ट केलं आहे. त्या म्हणतात, "पाचव्या टप्प्यात प्रभा गणोरकर, अरुणा ढेरे, वृंदा लिमये, प्रतिभा इंगोले, अनुराधा पोतदार, नीरजा, मधुवंती सप्रे (म्हणजे त्या खुद्द) अंजली कुलकर्णी, असावरी काकडे आणि कितीतरी; ज्या नामवंतही आहेत." तसंच महिलांपैकी कुणीही विनोदी कविता [illegible] अपवाद आहेत, असं नमूद करून त्यांनी स्वतःच्या 'हसरी' कवितांचा उल्लेख केला आहे! मात्र आपल्या विनोदी विडंबन कवितांना प्रतिसाद मिळाला नाही, अशी प्रांजळ कबुलीही त्यांनी दिली आहे. (मात्र तो का मिळाला नाही, याचा शोध त्यांनी घेतला असता, तर बरं झालं असतं. त्या नक्कीच विनोदी लिहीत असणार. कारण 'लोकमत'मधील त्यांच्या या लेखाचे शीर्षकच 'स्त्री कवयित्री: एक शोध' असं विनोदी आहे! आता स्त्री व कवयित्री हा काय प्रकार आहे? पुरुष कवयित्री असतात काय? (काही बायकी कवी असतात, हा भाग अलाहिदा!) तर स्त्री-कवयित्री असलेल्या मधुवंती सप्रे यांचा उत्साह इतका उसळून असतो की, त्या कवयित्रींचा दबाव गट नक्कीच निर्माण करू शकतील. एक दिवस संसदेत महिला आरक्षण विधेयकाबरोबरच कवयित्री आरक्षण विधेयकही मांडले. म्हणून त्या यशस्वी चळवळ उभारतील, यात शंका नाही. एवढेच नव्हे, तर त्यांचे चौफेर कर्तृत्व पाहता आंतरराष्ट्रीय पातळीवरही त्या प्रभावी गट निर्माण करून विश्वसुंदरी स्पर्धेसारखी विश्वकवयित्री स्पर्धा आयोजित करतील. न जाणो; विश्वसुंदरीमध्ये सध्या भारताचे भाग्य जसे उजळले आहे, त्याचप्रमाणे मराठी विश्वकवयित्रीही त्यातून निर्माण होतील!

साहित्यातील स्नायूबळ!

एकदा मराठी विश्वकवयित्री निर्माण झाली की, मराठी साहित्य जागतिक पातळीवर पोचेल! एकारल्या आत्माविष्काराच्या रिंगणात अडकलेल्या लेखांमुळे समकालीन मराठी साहित्याला प्रतिभाबळापेक्षा स्नायूबळावरच वेठे पडले आहेत. त्यामुळे जागतिक साहित्य क्षेत्रात नावाजली जावी अशी श्रेष्ठ मराठी कलाकृती निर्माणच झालेली नाही, असं विधान ज्येष्ठ समीक्षक द. भि. कुलकर्णी यांनी अलीकडेच नासिकमध्ये बोलताना व्यक्त केलं. (पहा- महाराष्ट्र टाइम्स [illegible] मे). त्यामुळे मराठी असा विश्वपातळीवर पोचली, तर द. भि. ना आनंदच होईल. आता ते समीक्षक असल्याने त्यांच्या शब्दांना वजनदार वल्ह असतं म्हणा! त्यांना स्नायूबळ म्हणजे 'मसल पॉवर', मनगटशाही किंवा दादागिरी' असंच म्हणायचं आहे! पूर्वी या द. भि. कुलकर्णी यांनी मास्टर दीनानाथ शताब्दीनिमित्त काढण्यात आलेल्या कॅलेंडरवर लेख लिहिताना हे 'कॅलेंडर' नसून काल एण्डर आहे, अशी एकदम 'विदरफुल' कोटी केली होती!) एका बाजूला द. भि. कुलकर्णी स्नायूबळाचा उल्लेख करतात, तर सप्रे यांच्या लेखाचा एकूण सूरच कवयित्रींचे स्नायूबळ कमी पडतं, असा आहे! असो. स्नायुमेव जयते! दुसरं काय?

आढीतले आंबे!

पुराणातील वांगी पुराणात असं म्हणतात, त्याचप्रमाणे आढीतले आंबे आढीत असं म्हणायला हवं. गेल्या कानोकानीत सानेगुरुजींच्या लेखनाचे हक्क आंबे देऊन देशमुख कंपनीने मिळवले, असा शंकर पाटील यांनी जाहीर आरोप केला, असा उल्लेख केला होता. पाटील यांनी आरोप केला होता ही बाब खरी आहे. पण [illegible] आंबे [illegible] अशी [illegible] असे [illegible] आंबे [illegible] आहेत! असो.

— कलंदर

दुष्काळातलं हिरवं स्वप्न

[illegible] घाडे

हिवरेबाजार हे अहमदनगर जिल्ह्यातलं हजारबाराशे वस्तीचं एक गाव. पूर्वीच्या शिवशाही आणि निजामशाही यांच्या सीमेवर वसलेलं. लमाणमंडळी माळशेज घाटमार्गे मुंबईहून बैलावरून मीठ व इतर पदार्थ निजामशाहीत विक्रीसाठी आणायचे. त्यांचा हिवर्याला बाजार भरायचा. या बाजारात हत्ती—घोडेही विकायला यायचे. त्यावरून गावाला हिवरेबाजार नाव पडलं. मुंबई बंदरावर येणारे व्यापारी मुंबादेवीचे भक्तही होते. त्यांनीच हिवरेबाजारला मुंबादेवीची स्थापना केली. आजही हे मंदिर हिवरेबाजाराच्या इतिहासाची साक्ष देत उभं आहे.

असं हे ऐतिहासिक हिवरेबाजार गाव एकेकाळी निसर्गसंपन्न होतं. डोंगरटेकड्यांवर हिरवीगार वनश्री उभी होती. ओढेनाले वर्षभर खळखळ वाहत होते. विहिरींना वर्षभर पाणी टिकत होतं. शेतात पुरून उरेल एवढं धान्य पिकत होतं. प्रत्येक माळवदी घरासमोर दुधदुभतं होतं. तालमीत लढतमेहनत करणारे पैलवान घुमत होते. घरातल्या दुधावर त्यांचे वृज्जबंद बाहूंचे देह पोसले होते. नेत्रदीपक कुस्त्या करून आपल्या गावचा लौकिक त्यांनी महाराष्ट्रभर वाढवला होता. परंतु १९७२च्या दुष्काळात गावचं सारं वैभव कोसळून पडलं. प्रत्येक कुटुंब दुष्काळात पोळून निघालं. जगण्यासाठी लोकांनी आपआपल्या शिवारातला झाडझाडोरा कापून विकला. धान्यासाठी अनेकांनी आपला जमीनजुमला नगर व पिंपळगावच्या सावकारांकडे गहाण टाकला. बड्या तालेवार परिवारांना, पैलवान मंडळींना पोटासाठी रोजगार हमीच्या कामावर खडी फोडण्यासाठी जाणं भाग पडलं.

गावाला व्यसनानं घेरलं

काही स्वार्थी सावकारांनी पैलवानांना दारू पाजायला सुरुवात केली. बोलताबोलता सारं गाव व्यसनी झालं. चरवीभर दूध पचवणारे पैलवान चरवीभर दारू रिचवायला लागले. गावात जसजशी दारूला मागणी वाढायला लागली, तसतशा गावात हातभट्ट्या सुरू झाल्या. त्यांची संख्या चाळीसपर्यंत पोहचली. हिवरेबाजारात दारूला मोठी प्रतिष्ठा निर्माण झाली. दारूबाज माणूस प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक समजला जाऊ लागला. गावात दारूशिवाय कोणताही कार्यक्रम साजरा होत नसे. अनेकांनी गाव सोडून नगर—मुंबईला मोलमजुरी करून पोट भरायला लागले. बहुसंख्य शेतकरी नगर जिल्ह्यातील बागायती गावात शेतमजूर म्हणून मोलाने काम करू लागले. १९७२च्या दुष्काळानंतरही सतत [illegible] वर्षे हिवरेबाजार दुष्काळाचा शाप भोगत होतं.

द्विपदवीधराची कमाल

पुढं १९८९ साली ग्रामपंचायतीची निवडणूक आली. गावात दारूड्यांच्या ग्रामपंचायत व सार्वत्रिक निवडणुकीत तर गावात दारूचा पूर वाहायचा. निवडणुकीतील पक्षीय राजकारणातून गावात दोन गट निर्माण झाले. हे दोन्ही गट मंदिराचे परमभक्त होते. तेच गावचं सारं राजकारण खेळायचे. गावात कलह सुरू झाला. नगरच्या पोलिसस्टेशनात रोज मारामारीच्या तक्रारी जायला लागल्या. या हाणामारीत दगडगोट्यांचा सर्रास वापर होत असे. त्यातून गावात एकाचा प्राण गमावला. खुनाची केस दाखल झाली.

पैलवानांचा गाव म्हणून लौकिक पावलेल्या हिवरेबाजारला दारूड गाव म्हणून नगर जिल्ह्यात बदलौकिक झाला. शाळेच्या इमारतीचा अड्डा बसायला लागल्याने मुलांच्या शिक्षणाचा खेळखंडोबा झाला.

ही सारी हिवरेबाजाराची कथा आणि व्यथा वयोवृद्ध गावकरी कोंडीबा मारुती पादीर (वय ७७), बाबू रामा ठाणगे (वय ७५), पैलवान विश्वनाथ पादीर (वय ५०), ज्ञानदेव ठाणगे (वय ६५), कामदेव कारभारी ठाणगे, काशीनाथ खरवस यांनी पारावर त्यांच्याशी गप्पा मारत असताना सांगितली.

हातभट्ट्यांत गावच्या शिवारातला उरलासुरला झाडझाडोरा सरपण म्हणून जाळण्यात आला. गावचे शिवार आणि डोंगरटेकड्या उजाड बोडक्या झाल्या. गावावर निसर्गाची अवकृपा झाली. गावकरी दैन्य आणि दारिद्र्याच्या चटक्यांनी होरपळून निघाले. झाडांअभावी पावसाचं प्रमाण कमी झालं. जो पाऊस पडायचा, त्याचं पाणी वृक्षाच्छादनाअभावी जमिनीत न मुरता वाहून जायला लागलं. आपल्याबरोबर बहुमोल माती वाहून न्यायला लागलं. विहिरी कोरड्या पडायला लागल्या. पाण्याअभावी गावची भूमाता माणसं आणि जनावरांना जगवायला असमर्थ ठरली. जगणं थईना म्हणून दुष्काळात बाळासाहेब [illegible] त्यातून काही [illegible] निर्माण होण्याची शक्यता होती. अशा स्थितीत गावाला गर्तेतून बाहेर काढून वाचवलं पाहिजे, असा विचार करून काही तरुण पुढे आले. द्विपदवीधर असलेला हिवरेबाजारचा हा तरुण गावापासून दूर होता. आपल्या आजोळी राहून तो शिकला. नुकताच एम. कॉम झाला. आंतरविद्यापीठ क्रिकेट सामन्यात खेळून उत्कृष्ट क्रिकेटपटू म्हणून त्यानं नावलौकिक संपादन केला होता. तरुणांनी त्याला गावाकडे लक्ष घालायची विनंती केली. ग्रामपंचायत निवडणुकीत उभं राहायचा आग्रह केला. त्या आग्रहाखातर तो गावात [illegible] आणि गावाची अवस्था पाहून त्याला दुःख झालं.

[illegible] म्हणून त्याला 'अॅर इंडिया' [illegible] खात्याकडून नोकरीसाठी मुलाखतीसाठी पत्र आलं होतं. अशा स्थितीत गावच्या भानगडीत पडून जीवन बरबाद करून घेऊ नको, असा सल्ला त्याला घरच्या मंडळींनी दिला. परंतु आपल्या शिक्षणाचा उपयोग गावाला होणार नसेल, तर त्या शिक्षणाचा उपयोग काय? असा विचार करून त्या तरुणानं गावासाठी वाहून घेण्याचं निश्चित केलं. निवडणुकीत उभा राहिला. तरुणांच्या पाठिंब्याने निवडून आला. सरपंच झाला. दुसऱ्या दिवशी काही ग्रामस्थांना [illegible] राळेगणसिद्धीला [illegible] पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकास आणि निसर्गसंवर्धनातून राळेगणसिद्धीने साधलेला ग्रामीण विकास त्यानं पाहिला. राळेगणसिद्धीने दुष्काळावर कशी मात केली, त्याचं कहाणी अण्णा हजारे यांच्याकडून ऐकली. अण्णांचं मार्गदर्शन घेतलं. त्यानुसार त्यानं हिवरेबाजारात काम सुरू केलं. त्या तरुणाचं नाव आहे पोपट बागुजी पवार.

प्रथम त्यानं तरुणांना बरोबर घेऊन स्वतः श्रमदानानं छोटीमोठी कामं केली. गावातला हातपंप कित्येक वर्षे बंद होता. महिलांना पाण्यासाठी वणवण भटकावं लागायचं. जिल्हा परिषद व पंचायत समितीच्या सहकार्यातून हातपंप दुरुस्त केला. पडक्या शाळेचा श्रमदानातून जीर्णोद्धार केला. सामाजिक वनिकरण खात्याच्या माध्यमातून ७० हेक्टरवर वनिकरण केलं. गावात हरिनाम सप्ताह चालू केला. ग्रामस्थांना आळंदी—पंढरपूरच्या यात्रेस नेलं. संतांचा निसर्गसंवर्धनाचा संदेश त्यांच्या गळी उतरवला. [illegible] पोपटरावांबद्दल लोकांना विश्वास वाटू लागला. ध्येयवादी कार्यकुशल तरुणांचं मजबूत संघटन पवारांनी उभारलं. त्यात दारूचं व्यसन जडलेल्या पालकांच्या मुलांचा समावेश केला. १९९२ साली आदर्शगाव योजना सुरू झाली. अण्णांनी हिवरेबाजाराचा आदर्शगाव योजनेत समावेश केला. पोपटरावांनी 'यशवंत कृषी पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकास संस्था' स्थापन केली. आदर्शगाव योजनेच्या माध्यमातून संस्थेद्वारे हिवरेबाजाराच्या विकासास शुभारंभ झाला. नशाबंदी, नसबंदी, चराईबंदी, कुऱ्हाडबंदी आणि श्रमदान ही पंचसूत्री पाळण्याचा ठराव ग्रामसभेत संमत करण्यात आला.

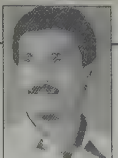
प्रत्यक्ष कामाला सुरुवात

डोंगरावरून गावाच्या विकासास सुरुवात झाली. डोंगरावर व उतारावर एक फूट खोल व दोन फूट रुंदीचे सलग समपातळी चर खणण्यात आले. १५० हेक्टरवर हे काम झालं. दोन वनतळी खणण्यात आली. ४१ दगडीबांध, सहा सिमेंट नालाबांध बांधण्यात आले. ५२ मातीचे बांध घालण्यात आले. ५ साठवण बंधारे आणि जाळीचे बंधारे बांधले. २ पाझर तलाव खोदण्यात आले. माथ्यापासून पायथ्यापर्यंत शास्त्रशुद्ध पद्धतीने माती आणि पाणी अडविण्यात आले. पावसाचा प्रत्येक थेंब मुरविण्यासाठी आणि मातीचा प्रत्येक कण अडविण्याचं काम केलं. नंतर पावसाळ्याच्या तोंडावर [illegible] कडुलिंब, काशिद, भेंडी, खैर इत्यादी प्रकारची स्थानिक वातावरणात [illegible] नऊ लाख झाडं लावली. पवना व शेडा या [illegible] गवताची लागवड केली. [illegible] चराईबंदीचं कसोशीनं पालन केलं. या पाणलोटक्षेत्र विकासाच्या कामातून [illegible] दोन वर्ष अवर्षणाचा शाप भोगणाऱ्या हिवरेबाजारात चमत्कार घडून आला.

हिवरेबाजाराच्या [illegible], माळीबा, कुकड्या [illegible] फिरताना पोपटराव पाणलोटक्षेत्र विकासामुळे झालेल्या चमत्काराची सत्यकथा सांगत होते. "एक फूट खोल व दोन फूट रुंद सलग समपातळी चराचे एका हेक्टरवर १५०० ते १६०० रनिंग मीटर काम होते. त्यात एका पावसाचे दीड लाख लिटर पाणी साचून [illegible] क्षेत्रावरील सलग समपातळी चरात भरपूर प्रमाणात पडणाऱ्या एका वेळच्या पावसाने २ कोटी ७५ हजार लिटर पाणी हिवरेबाजारच्या जमिनीत मुरायला लागलं. या कामामुळे पाणी व माती वाहायची थांबली. त्यामुळे ओढ्यानाल्यांना पूर यायचे बंद झाले. प्रथमवर्षी पूर न गेल्याने [illegible] विहिरींच्या [illegible] झाला नाही. त्यामुळे 'पोपटने आमचं वाटोळं केलं,' अशी टीका ग्रामस्थ करायला लागले. परंतु जमिनीत मुरलेलं पाणी महिन्याभरात भूगर्भातून विहिरीत उतरलं. विहिरी तुडुंब भरल्या. पूर्वी पावसाळ्यानंतर चार महिने पाणी टिकत नव्हतं. पाणलोटक्षेत्र विकासानंतर ते कितीतरी [illegible] बारा महिने टिकायला लागलं. त्यावेळी लोकांना कामाचं महत्त्व कळलं. 'पोपटनं आमचं कल्याण केलं,' असं लोक म्हणायला लागले. आता जुन्या व नव्याने खणलेल्या एकूण १८० विहिरी पाण्याने भरलेल्या आहेत. पूर्वी १५० फूट खोल जाऊनही पाणी लागलं नाही, त्या विहिरीही पाणलोट विकासामुळे आज तुडुंब भरलेल्या आहेत. हिवरेबाजार अहमदनगर जिल्ह्यातला पर्जन्य छायेतलं गाव. पावसाचं वार्षिक सरासरी प्रमाण अवघं ४०० मिलिमीटर आहे. यावर्षी तर १०४ मिलीमीटर व पाऊस पडला. तरी गावातल्या सर्व विहिरी भरलेल्या आहेत.

"पाण्याची सोय झाल्यावर गावातलं बागायत वाढलं. गावचं एकूण भौगोलिक क्षेत्र ९७६.८४ हेक्टर आहे. त्यापैकी शेतीक्षेत्र ७९५.२३ हेक्टर आहे. पूर्वी १० टक्केही क्षेत्र बागायत नव्हतं. आता जवळजवळ ७० टक्के क्षेत्र बागायत झालं [illegible] भाजीपाल्याचं पीक घेत आहेत. अनेक [illegible] बाजारात रोज हिवरेबाजारच्या दोन—तीन [illegible] जातो. हिवरेबाजारचा माल आल्याशिवाय [illegible] आज १२ पट वाढलं. चारा—पिके २५ पट [illegible] चराईबंदीमुळे १९९४—९५मध्ये गवताचं उत्पन्न २०० टन [illegible] गोठ्यात चारपासून पंधरापर्यंत जर्सी गायी आहेत. पूर्वी गावात अवघं १५० लिटर [illegible] दूध [illegible] दुधव्यवसाय करायला लागले. [illegible] आहेत. प्रत्येकाचं पूर्वीचं उत्पन्न वर्षाला [illegible] लाखापासून पाच लाखांपर्यंत पोचले आहे. १९९२ साली ११० दारिद्र्यरेषेखाली होते. [illegible] दारूड्यांच्या दहशतीपोटी [illegible] हद्दपार झाल्याने गावात सुख शांती नांदायला लागली. [illegible] आला. त्यात सर्व ग्रामस्थांचा सहभाग लाभला. आपल्या कल्याणाचे काम समजून लोकांनी रोजगाराची अपेक्षा न करता श्रमदान केलं. म्हणून हा कार्यक्रम यशस्वी झाला. बँकॉकच्या मार्क परिषदेत [illegible] कोऑर्डिनेटर [illegible]

(पान १४ वर)



स्वावलंबी आणि स्वयंपूर्ण गावाची महात्मा गांधींची संकल्पना अहमदनगरसारख्या दुष्काळी जिल्ह्यात साकार होणं, हेच मुळी एक स्वप्न ठरावं. पण पोपटराव पवार नावाचा एक तरुण गावकऱ्यांच्या साथीनं हिवरेबाजार गावाचा चेहरामोहराच पाच वर्षात कसा बदलू शकतो, याची कहाणी...



पाणी व चारा वाढल्याने आता प्रत्येक घरासमोरील गोठ्यात अशी गायी दिसतात.



चराईबंदीचे पालन करून ग्रामस्थ व महिला गुरांसाठी गवत कापून नेतात.

प्रसंग

प्रकाश अकोलकर



'गर्व से कहो हम हिंदू है!' —अशी जाज्वल्य घोषणा देऊन महाराष्ट्राची सत्ता पादाक्रांत करणाऱ्या शिवसेनेला अखेरीस आपला 'मराठी बाणा' आठवला आहे. 'गर्व से कहो...' असं म्हणून सत्ता जरूर आली. पण ही सत्ता आपल्या हातून गेली, त्यास मात्र आपल्या हातातून निसटत चाललेला हा मराठी बाणाच कारणीभूत असावा, असा विचार करून 'भूमिपुत्रां'च्या हक्कांसाठी पुन्हा एकदा सैनिक रस्त्यावर उतरले आहेत. गेल्या मंगळवारी हे सैनिक स्थानीय लोकाधिकार समितीचे निशाण घेऊन मैदानात आले आणि 'बिहारी बाबू नहीं चलेगा!' अशा घोषणांनी त्यांनी मुंबईतील नरीमन पॉईंटचा परिसर दणाणून सोडला. बँकिंग आणि विमा क्षेत्रात यापुढे मराठी माणसाशिवाय अन्य कोणाचीही भरती झाल्यास ती सहन केली जाणार नाही, असा इशाराही यावेळी देण्यात आला आहे.

स्थानीय लोकाधिकार महासंघाचे विद्यमान अध्यक्ष गजानन किर्तीकर यांना त्याच्याच भाषेत सांगायचं झालं, तर मराठी माणसाच्या प्रश्नासाठी लढा देणं हा गुन्हा खचितच नाही. पण प्रश्न हा प्रश्न हाती घ्यावा, असं त्यांना आताएकदम का वाटू लागलं? त्यांचं म्हणणं असं आहे की, बँक रिक्रूटमेण्ट बोर्ड आणि अन्य सरकारी संस्थांनी आपल्या नियमात काही बदल केले असून त्यामुळे आता नोकरभरतीत भूमिपुत्रांना प्राधान्य देण्याची गरज उरलेली नाही. पण या प्रश्नाची तड लावण्यासाठी केंद्रातील सत्तेत सहभागी असलेल्या सेनेने एकदम रस्त्यावरच उतरायला हवं होतं का?

शिवसेनेने मराठी माणसाच्या अस्मितेचा प्रश्न हाती घेऊन आज ३४ वर्षे झाली आहेत. ३४ वर्षांपूर्वी संयुक्त महाराष्ट्राच्या आंदोलनाच्या पार्श्वभूमीवर मराठी-मराठी असा उद्घोष करीत या संघटनेचा जन्म झाला. मराठी माणसांचं स्वतंत्र राज्य स्थापन व्हावं म्हणून मराठी माणसांनी आपल्या प्राणांची आहुती दिली होती. पण मराठी [illegible] लोकाधिकार समिती'नं मराठी माणसाला जरूर प्रतिष्ठा मिळवून दिली होती. पण आता एकविसाव्या शतकाच्या उंबरठ्यावर उभे असताना आणि सारे जग हे माहिती तंत्रज्ञान क्षेत्रातील क्रांतीच्या जोरावर 'ग्लोबल व्हिलेज' बनू पाहत असताना या मराठी माणसाचा मुद्दा घेऊन पुन्हा मैदानात उतरणं कितपत यशस्वी ठरेल, याचा विचार शिवसेनेच्या नेत्यांनी केला आहे का, हा खरा प्रश्न आहे. या प्रश्नाचं उत्तर [illegible] अवघड आहे. पण त्याहीपेक्षा महत्त्वाची बाब म्हणजे या प्रश्नाचं उत्तर जर होकारार्थी असेल, तर सार्वजनिक दशकांच्या राजकीय प्रवासानंतरही सेना नेत्यांच्या राजकीय जाणिवा विकसित झालेल्या नाहीत, असा निष्कर्ष नाईलाजानं काढावा लागतो.

या प्रश्नाच्या उत्तराचा शोध घेण्यापूर्वी मूळ मराठी माणसाच्या असलेल्या या मुंबापुरीत मराठी टक्का घसरला कसा आणि त्याला प्रतिष्ठा मिळवून देण्यासाठी शिवसेनेने स्थानीय लोकाधिकार समितीच्या माध्यमातून नेमकं कोणतं काम केलं, त्याचा आढावा घेणं जरुरीचं ठरेल.

मुंबईत १८५१ मध्ये पहिली कापड गिरणी सुरू झाली आणि त्या गिरणीच्या चिमणीतून बाहेर येणाऱ्या धुरानं या नगरीच्या [illegible] येणाऱ्यांची भर पडू लागली. सुदैवाने तो पावेतो उत्तर भारतीय भैय्यांना मुंबईचा शोध लागायचा होता. १८५० ते ६० या दशकात मुंबईची लोकसंख्या सहा-सात लाखांच्या आसपास होती आणि एका अनधिकृत अंदाजानुसार त्यातील किमान ८० टक्के लोकांचा जन्म या बेटाबाहेरील मुख्य भूभागावर झालेला होता.

मुंबईतील रहिवाशांच्या भाषावार शिरगणतीचा मागोवा घेत मागे गेल्यास या शहरातून 'मराठी टक्का' कसा कमी झाला, ते दिसून येते. १८८१ मध्ये झालेल्या [illegible] लाख ७३ हजार [illegible] पण तेव्हाही [illegible] ५० टक्के [illegible] एकटीच होती [illegible] गुजराती भाषिक [illegible] टक्के होते [illegible]

या शहराच्या दिशेने लोकांचे लोंढे सुरू झाले. मुंबईत आधीच ठाण मांडून बसलेल्या पारशी, बोहरा मुस्लिम, गुजराती वनिये यांच्यामध्ये रोजगाराच्या आशेने गुजरात, आंध्र, कर्नाटकातून [illegible] हातात आली होती. पण देशाची औद्योगिक राजधानी म्हणून गौरवल्या जाणाऱ्या या शहरातील [illegible] हाती आणि [illegible] तेथे उपलब्ध झाल्यावर तेथे कोणाला नोकरी द्यायची [illegible] सार्वजनिकच मराठी [illegible] मराठी [illegible] लागत होते. शिवसेनेची स्थापना झाली [illegible] मराठी माणसाच्या अस्मितेचा प्रश्न घेऊन [illegible] या संघटनेच्या पाठीशी [illegible] ताकद उभी राहिली.

मुंबईतल्या [illegible] टक्के नोकऱ्या या मराठी माणसांनाच मिळाल्या पाहिजेत [illegible] बाळासाहेब ठाकरे यांची भाषा होती [illegible] पसरल्यावर नोकरीसाठी वणवण फिरणाऱ्या मराठी तरुणांची वर्दळ [illegible] लागली. [illegible] तरुणांना काम मिळवून देण्यासाठी शिवसेने प्रारंभीच्या काळात रोजगार [illegible] काम सुरू केलं. त्याच काळात राम [illegible] बँक ऑफ अमेरिका मध्ये नोकरीला होते. [illegible] मराठी असल्यानेच [illegible] अवमानकारक [illegible] अशी [illegible] झाली होती. [illegible] प्रमोद नवलकरांमार्फत ठाकरे यांच्याशी संपर्क साधला [illegible] यांच्या भूमिकेला पाठिंबा जाहीर [illegible].

रोजगाराबाबत तेव्हा शिवसेनेचं धोरण स्पष्ट होतं. सरकारी तसंच निमसरकारी कार्यालयांमध्ये आणि खाजगी आस्थापनांमध्ये अकुशल कामगार, शिपाई, हमाल, वेटर, कारकून यासारख्या जागांवर मराठी माणसाचीच भरती झाली पाहिजे, असा शिवसेनेचा आग्रह होता. कुशल कामगार किंवा एखाद विशिष्ट [illegible] करताना गुणवत्तेचा आग्रह रास्त असू शकतो. किंवा फक्त अशाच पदांसाठी गुणवत्तेचा विचार करावा, अशी सेनेची भूमिका होती. त्यासाठी मग छोटीमोठी [illegible] सुरू झाले. [illegible]

[illegible] अंकुश [illegible] संकुचित भूमिका [illegible]

—आणि [illegible] लोकाधिकार [illegible] असून त्यांनी हा [illegible] खरा अर्थ [illegible]

खरा मुद्दा [illegible]

SPORT

Stich ends Sampras' run

DÜSSELDORF, May 21 (Reuter):

AMERICAN world number one Pete Sampras suffered his first defeat for three months when he was beaten 3-6, 7-6, 6-2, by Michael Stich in a high-class encounter at the World Team Cup here today

Sampras, who will bid to become the first man to win four consecutive Grand Slam titles for 25 years at next week's French Open, was outwitted by an inspired Stich who saved two match points in the second set before winning in one hour and 56 minutes

The victory gave Germany a 1-0 lead over defending champions the U.S. in the final round of round-robin blue group matches at the team event where many of the world's top players are tuning their game before Paris

More importantly it marked Sampras's first defeat for 30 matches and only his third loss this year. The American last lost in his opening match of an indoor tournament in Philadelphia on February 15

Sampras has looked invincible in recent months. After cruising to a straight sets victory over Boris Becker in last week's Italian open final, he has been heavily tipped to become the first player to win four Grand Slams in a row since Rod Laver in 1969

But the American's least favourite surface is the slow clay and world number two Stich, seeded to meet Sampras in the French final, said earlier this week he felt capable of stopping the reigning Wimbledon, Australian and U.S. Open champion

After going 6-3 down in the first set when Sampras played some brilliant shots from the front and the back of the court, the German was as good as his word with an impressive performance of skill and determination.

Stich was so impressed with some of Sampras's passing shots in the first set that he applauded them on several occasions

The German saved a match point when he was 3-5 and 30-40 down on his own serve in the second set and, with drizzle coming down, saved another when Sampras led 6-5 in the tie-break

Stich seemed to find another gear under pressure and he hit a forehand winner down the line to clinch the tie break 9-7. A key break of serve in the seventh game of the third set then gave the German a 5-2 lead and he served out for the match

Neither of the players, however, were prepared to read too much into the result

"It is nice to win against him. But I am not going to get over-excited," Stich said "Every win is good for the confidence but it is no conclusion about what is going to happen in Paris."

Asked whether the defeat was bad for his confidence before Monday's start in Roland Garros, Sampras said. "No. I felt I played well enough to win... in Paris we start a whole new tournament "

"But my serve was not there today. If I want to do well in Paris I need to serve a higher percentage "

Earlier Sergi Bruguera defeated Sweden's Stefan Edberg to put Spain in their fourth World Team cup tennis final.

Bruguera, the reigning French Open champion, won 7-6 (8-6), 5-7, 6-3. Earlier Spain's Carlos Costa defeated Sweden's reserve player, Jan Apell, 4-6, 6-4, 6-4 in another hard-fought match.

In other Red group action, the Czech Republic swept the singles matches against Australia when Petr Korda defeated Wally Masur 6-2, 6-7 (5-7), 6-1, and Karel Novacek beat Mark Woodforde 6-4, 6-2. Neither country was in contention for the final

Spain next meets the winner of the wide-open Blue group. Germany plays the U.S. and France face Russia. All four teams have 1-1 records

STRASBOURG: Top-seeded Gabriela Sabatini and third-seeded Mary Joe Fernandez had three-set quarterfinal victories yesterday in the $150,000 Strasbourg Open

Sabatini downed seventh-seeded Iva Majoli, of Croatia, 6-3, 4-6, 6-2. Fernandez defeated Lori McNeil, of the U.S., 6-4, 4-6, 6-3.

Treble by Foley

The Times of India News Service
UDHAGAMANDALAM, May 21

CHAMPION trainer Robert Foley boosted his tally at the top of the table with the popular treble at today's races here. His winners were Bold Amusement, Predictor and Brave Groom, all favourites

Results with Bombay dividends

Yercaud Plate: 1,100 m: BOLD AMUSEMENT 60 (Krishnan) 1, Ferazzi 2, Time Is Noon 3, Crystal Clear 4. NOT RUN: Smiling Season 5 1/2L, 3L, SH 1 1.2 secs Rs 5, Rs 5, Rs 23 Rs 287, FP Rs 7: SHP c f Q c f T c.f (R. Foley)

Madura Plate: 1,600 m BATTLESHIP [illegible] (A Mohan) 1, Royal Academy 2, [illegible] Groom 3, A Matter of Faith 4 [illegible] 1 1/4 L, 3/4 L, 1 46.8 secs. Rs [illegible] Rs 7 Rs 14 FP c.f. SHP [illegible] T c f (Veeramani)

[illegible] Plate: 1,200 m. ETHER KING 5[illegible] [illegible] Rs 7, Rs 5, Rs 23, Rs 16 FP Rs 69 SHP [illegible] Q Rs 306 T Rs 283 and Rs 121 [illegible]

Melfur Plate (Div I): 1,200m: PREDICTOR 48 5 (Krishnan) 1, Centaurnne 2, All Theirs me 3, Norwest 4 7L, 2-3/4L, 3/4L 1 17 secs Rs 11 Rs 8 Rs 9 Rs 50 FP Rs 60 SHP Rs 75 Q Rs 24 T Rs 352 (70%) and c.f (30%) (R Foley)

Guindy Plate: 1,400m: CUPIDON 60 (Krishnan) 1, Final Fame 2, ACK Regal 3, Adamas 4 5L, 2L, 8L 1 30.8 secs Rs 20; Rs 8 Rs 10 Rs 20 FP Rs 336 SHP c f Q: Rs 156 T Rs 510 and Rs 164 (B Suresh)

Mellur Plate (Div. II): 1,400m: PERAL WHITE 46 (Anil K) 1, Entertainment 2, Volute 3, Pleasant Boy 4 1-1/2L, 1/2L, [illegible] 1 18 6 secs Rs 171, Rs 23, Rs 9, Rs 25 FP c.f SHP Rs 72. Q Rs 180 T 70% c.f and 30% Rs 652 (A Malick)

Coimbatore Plate. 1,200m BRAVE GROOM 60 (Satish) 1, Miss Piere 2, Bold Hunter 3, Rock of Ismaha 4 3/4L, 9L, 1 1/2L 1 18.2 secs Rs 17, Rs 13, Rs 14, Rs 17 FP c.f SHP Rs 54 Q Rs 270 T Rs 1 521 and Rs 566 (R Foley)

Jackpot: 70% c.f and Rs 408 (1 tkt)

Treble: c f

Six up: c f

Erhaab becomes Derby favourite

By Our Racing Correspondent

BOMBAY, May 21: Erhaab, quoted just a fortnight ago at 25 to 1 for the Epson Derby to be run on June 1, has been wildly backed down to 5 to 2 thanks to his fluent victory in the Group II Classic Trial, Dante Stakes when he comfortably beat Weigh Anchor and Mister Baileys in record time

The son of Chief's Crown out of Histoire took the media by surprise as none had tipped him to win the Dante Stakes

Prime Prospect fancied

The Times of India News Service

UDHAGAMANDALAM, May 21: Smooth as Silk, Prime Prospect and Atlantic Dream look the leading contenders for the 1,600 metres Nilgiris Gold Cup for Class IV horses, which features a seven-event card for tomorrow's races here. Smooth as Silk, who last week completed a hat-trick, is a ante-post favourite, but on class Prime Prospect seems to have an edge over his stable-mate.

First race at 10.30. My selections

Courtalam plate: 1,400 m: Elegant Touch 1, Advisory 2

Kallar Plate: 1,400 m: Star Skimmer 1, Star Ruler 2

Kodai Plate: 1,800 m. Breakthru 1, Advisory 2

Namakkal Plate: 2,000 m: My Senor 1; Lordship 2

Nilgiris gold cup: 1,600 m: Prime Prospect 1, Smooth as Silk 2

Cherabadi Plate. 1,400 m: Prime Mover 1; She's no Angel 2

Sulur Plate: 1,200 m: Cabellero 1; Micro Wave 2

Day's best: My Senor

ISTANBUL'S BID: Istanbul officially announced its candidature to stage the 2004 Olympic Games here on Saturday.

Capriati may not be arraigned

MIAMI, May 21 (Reuter): Teenage tennis star Jennifer Capriati likely will strike a deal with officials over drug charges against her that will keep the high-profile case out of the courts, a police officer said yesterday.

Capriati, was arrested on Monday at a Coral Gables hotel, and charged with possession of a small amount of marijuana.

"More likely than not Capriati will not be arraigned" on charges of misdemeanor marijuana possession, let alone tried, said Martin Barros, a senior police officer in Coral Gables, an affluent community just outside Miami.

He said a deal likely will be struck between Capriati's lawyer and the state's attorney. Misdemeaner drug charges are often dropped when the accused completes a drug treatment programme.

Maiden title for Harsh

By A Staff Reporter

BOMBAY, May 21

A CATCH on the right side notwithstanding, Harsh Mankad gave a stand-out performance to bag his first under-18 title in the S. K. Pandit memorial open juniors' tennis tournament today.

Barely 15, the bespectacled Harsh won an hour and 45 minutes final against Sharad Kohli, the third seed, 6-3, 7-6 (8-6). Unseeded Harsh had knocked out the second seed, Ravi Bhaya, in straight sets yesterday

The catch hampered Harsh's serve but then he played solidly from the baseline. Added assets were his quick thinking and fairly fast movements

Harsh should have been broken in the opening game as he committed two double-faults but Kohli was unable to seize his chances. In the second, Kohli dropped serve as he was passed twice and committed volleying errors, besides

Thereafter, Kohli seemed to suffer from a bad case of nerves. He was not able to keep up a rally and, whenever he tried to advance, he was easily passed as he was invariably caught in mid-court.

To Kohli's credit it must be said that he shrewdly switched his tactics in the second set. By employing slow topspin he did not give the pace that Harsh relished He also greatly cut down on errors

Kohli was up 5-2 but Harsh hung on, gained a break in the ninth and drew level at 5-all Kohli made mistakes at crucial stages

Nevertheless, Kohli held three set points when he led 6-3 in the tie-breaker. He missed two of them going for winners and Harsh executed a superb lob to make the scores 6-all. Still, Kohli attempted to move up and was beaten by the lob twice more to lose the match

The triumph earned Harsh, a trainee at the Garden Mills Tennis Academy, the top scholarship of Rs 3,000 Kohli had to settle for half the amount

Two other Garden trainees, Vijayendra Lad and Karim Rahimtoola emerged successful, while a third, Rekha Natarajan, was the runner-up in the girls under 12.

Laad won a two-hour boys under 14 tussle against Karamveer Premnarayan, 6-2, 2-6, 6-3, while Rahimtoola beat Arpan Lakhani, 6-4, 5-7, 6-2, in the under 12 final Pune's Radhika Tulpule won her fourth girls under 12 title of the year by defeating Rekha Natarajan, 7-5, 6-3

Dadar Club, the organisers instituted a rolling trophy in memory of Om Agrawal and the tournament committee announced a donation of Rs 10,001 to the fund-raising campaign for the former world amateur snooker champion's family

Jeeps rally to win

By A Staff Reporter

BOMBAY, May 21: Jeeps clawed their way back from 2-4 to level the score at 4 4 against Bank of India and go on to win at 9-7 the quarter-final match of the Rebels Sports Club rink hockey tournament at the Mount Carmel ground Bandra, yesterday The event is being sponsored by Pepsi and Bharat Petroleum.

Jeeps comprise virtually the Mahindra and Mahindra side, except for goalkeeper Martin Fernandes who effected a fine save to block thwart Paul Bast's penalty stroke, which if it had counted, would have given Bank of India a somewhat comfortable 5-2 lead

But Xavier Fernandes deflected Gavin Ferreira's long ball into goal and then the international himself scored from the spot to put the jeepmen level In the tie breaker, all the jeepmen scored while only four of the bankmen were successful

In the other quarter final, Maharajas, propelled by a double hat trick form Edward Aranha who has just returned from the Indian team's foray to Australia, scored a facile 13-4 victory over Arsenal. Maharajas are Air-India by another name. David Cardoza was the other Maharaja player to get a hat-trick

Results (quarter finals) Jeeps 9 (Gavin Ferreira 3 Xavier Gomes 2 Sean Pereira 2 Elton Menezes, Newman D'Souza) beat Bank of India 7 (Paul Bast 3 Kenneth D'Souza 2 Brian Rodricks, Bradley Basti) Maharajas 13 (Edward Aranha 6, David Cardoza 4, Floyd D'Souza, Stephen Pereira, Alex D'Souza) beat Arsenal 4 (Sheldon Fernandes 2, Sanjay Fernandes Franklyn Fernandes)

Indian Tradition triumphs

BANGALORE, May 21 (UNI): Third favourite Indian Tradition was ridden to a five-length victory by S. Narredu in the Republic Cup, the main event of the races held here today

The six-year-old was trained by S. Moses.

Trainer Z. Darashah and his stablemate jockey Warren Singh scored a lucrative treble while K. Lingesh sent out two winners and apprentice jockey Feroz M. Ismail had a brace of successful mounts on a day when four favourites obliged punters in a card of eight events.

Results with Bombay dividends

Mount Everest Plate (Div.II) 1,200 m: TROON 53 5 (Warren Singh) 1, Zonn 2, Incredible 3, Deccan Dancer 4 Dt, Sh 2-1/4L 1·18 7 secs Rs 6; Rs 5, Rs 8, Rs 12. FP Rs 39 SHP Rs 47 Q Rs 33. T Rs 63 and Rs 38 (Z. Darashah)

Maravanthe Beach Resort Plate: 1,200 m: PRINCESS DELIGHT 54 (Feroz M Ismail) 1, Lord Derby 2, Katalanta 3, Philosophy 4 4L, 4 1/2L, 1/2L 1·19.9 secs. Rs 15; Rs 7, Rs 9, Rs 13 FP Rs 181 SHP Rs 49 Q Rs 39. T Rs 412 and Rs 181. (K Lingesh)

Mount Everest Plate (Div.I): 1,200 m. FOTOFLASH 55 (Warren Singh) 1, Devant 2, Inspector Eagle 3, Steelee 4 7L, 3L, H 1:19 secs Rs 6, Rs 7, Rs 6, Rs 7 FP: Rs 21. SHP. Rs 19. Q Rs 18. T- Rs 18 and Rs 13. (Z. Darashah)

Republic Cup: 1,400 m: INDIAN TRADITION 59 (S Narredu) 1, El Alamein 2, Istoria 3, Surya 4 5L, 1/2L, 2L 1·31 2 secs Rs 20; Rs 9, Rs 50. FP Rs 582 SHP Rs 138. Q: Rs 490. T Rs 367 and Rs 115 (S. Moses).

Maroof Farah Memorial Plate: 1,200 m GOLDEN HOPE 52 (Warren Singh) 1, Alacrity 2, Aunty Fats 3, Shiksha 4 1-3/4L, 2-1/2L, 5L. 1·19 secs. Rs 29; Rs 7, Rs 5, Rs 6. FP Rs 143 SHP Rs 70 Q Rs 23. T Rs 84 and Rs 47 (Z Darashah)

Cauvery Silver Vase: 1,400 m: ROTTERDAM 52 5 (Rathod) 1, Silver Chief 2 Wise and Worthy (late Classic Roman) 3 Mustard and Spice 4 Not run: Am I Ever 8L, 3/4L, 4L 1 32 7 secs. Rs 23; Rs 6, Rs 31 Rs 6 FP Rs 835 SHP c f Q Rs 634 T Rs 594 and Rs 142 (M Eshwer)

Yeravada Stud Plate: 1,400 m: QUICK FOOT 51 5 (M Narredu) 1, Cape Storm 2, Eagle Nova 3, Toledo Bay 4. 1-1/2L, 7L, 3L 1.31 2 secs. Rs 7; Rs 5, Rs 6 FP Rs 18. SHP Rs 21 Q. Rs 12 T: Rs 18 and Rs 15. (S. Padmanabhan)

Lady Gibraltar Plate: 1,600 m: GALE FORCE 59 (Feroz M Ismail) 1, Next Generation 2, Suryaastra 3, Sumsaris 4 SH, 1-1/4L, 1/2L 1·46.3 secs. Rs 49, Rs 13, Rs 6, Rs 16 FP Rs 243 SHP Rs 23 Q: Rs 139 T Rs 584 and Rs 380 (K Lingesh)

Jackpot: Rs 23,983 (14 tkts) and Rs 500 (244 tkts)

Treble: (1) — Rs 229 (38) and (2) — Rs 606 (38)

Six-Up: Rs 529 (10) and Rs 41 (55)

Srinath puts out Vasudeva Reddy

By A Staff Reporter

BOMBAY, May 21: Promising P. Srinath moved into the third qualifying round of the Leela ATP Challenger by defeating another Indian hope, Vasudeva Reddy, 6-2, 6-2, at the Practennis courts, Andheri today.

Two other Indian players, Syed Fazaluddin and Sandeep Kirtane advanced to the third round While Fazaluddin scored a notable 6-2, 3-6, 6-1 victory over Christian Bewhart, Sandeep put out Vikrant Chadda, 6-2, 6-4

Indian hockey needs a fresh outlook



POINT OF VIEW

SUNDER RAJAN

INDIAN hockey is truly at the crossroads On the one hand, the national team has had a disastrous tour of Australia On the other, bickering has begun for the plum posts in the Indian Hockey Federation. What a sad state to be in with the Asian Games and the World Cup not far off!

Coach Zafar Iqbal had hoped that the Australian trip would prove to be an invaluable experience. Instead, it turned out to be nightmarish with the Indian team being roundly beaten in one international after another with the draw in the fifth and final encounter barely providing some consolation

Admittedly, it was a hectic series but then it applied to both teams and the schedule as well as the pressures are likely to be far more demanding during the Asiad and the World Cup than what the Indians went through Down Under.

It is no use saying that the series would have been close had India made the most of the chances that came their way. The result is what counts in the ultimate analysis and the score-line tells its own tale.

What passes understanding is how India could be so pathetic in their attempts to convert penalty corners after all the training and exposure they have had. Can they not pick up a few tricks from playing with and watching others?

There must be something seriously wrong with the team if the players muff even "strokes" and sitters. It betrays an utter lack of mental as well as physical alertness. Perhaps, the team needs the help of a psychiatrist to help the players shed their inhibitions and withstand the pressures.

Zafar Iqbal has lamented the total absence of strikers in the team and has even sounded a note of warning by stating that we are unlikely to find one before the Asiad and the World Cup

It will be easy to blame the coaches but the truth remains that this is a national malaise as evidenced by the fact that most matches in the country are eventually resolved by the tie-breaker Even the national championship final was decided in this fashion.

The root of the problem is that we are training 20-odd players for some eight months a year and totally neglecting Indian hockey as a whole. No sincere effort has been made to guide and groom young talent. If much smaller nations are able to perform far better than us it is largely because they have made a conscious effort to proivde both the infrastructure and an imaginative development programme

While Punjab and Sind Bank's move to set up a hockey academy is a small but significant step the fact remains that Indian hockey has generally lacked direction and a sense of purpose. Indian hockey clearly needs a fresh outlook and it can be provided only by a new set-up in the IHF

The big question is whether we need a super cop to drive out the bandicoots from the IHF. It would seem so if past Olympians from Punjab are to be believed. However, Mr Gill's candidature has evoked little response from other units and past experience of police raj is daunting

Unfortunately, there seems to be none with the right credentials or proven track record. Under the circumstances, the best way out could be to delink the administration from the conduct of the game. While officials raise the resources a handpicked sub-committee of players and coaches should be entrusted with the task of improving Indian hockey

Wild cards for officials' sons

By A Staff Reporter

BOMBAY, May 21: Jagrit Marriya and Ashish Khanna have surprisingly been given the wild cards for the boys under-16 event of the National sub-junior hard court championships which got under way at three venues today with the qualifying rounds and the inter-state event.

Sons of tennis officials. both have got the wild cards from the All India Tennis Association quota. The other two wild cards, allotted by Practennis, the organisers, have gone to Gautam Khanna and Chanakya Oza. A promising player like Uday Garg has now to go through the qualifying.

Karishma Patel, Meeta Koregaokar, Aparna Suresh and Priyanka Contractor have been accorded the wild cards for the girls under-16 event

Punjab overcame Andhra Pradesh, 2-1, Tamil Nadu defeated Haryana, 2-0, and Chandigarh beat Rajasthan, 2-0, in the boys' team event.

Ryan's five goals

BOMBAY, May 21: Ryan Alfanso was the hero in Bombay Republican's 6-1 win over Marolites in the Bombay championships at the Bombay Hockey Association's Mahindra Stadium, Churchgate, today. Ryan scored five of the six goals, which includes a hat-trick. The other scorer was Lennie Soares.

Sampras aims for Grand Slam

PARIS, May 21 (AP)

BJORN Borg never managed it. Neither did John McEnroe, Jimmy Connors, Arthur Ashe, Ken Rosewall or any other male tennis player of the past quarter century

Pete Sampras can establish himself as the greatest all-round player of his era and one of the best in history if he wins the French Open for his fourth consecutive grand slam title

The tournament starts Monday with the 22-year-old reigning Wimbledon, U.S. Open and Australian Open champion as a strong favourite to equal the feat accomplished by only two other men: Don Budge in 1938 and Rod Laver in 1962 and 1969

Victory in Paris won't qualify as an official Grand Slam, though, because that requires winning all four titles in the same calendar year. Sampras began his streak at Wimbledon last year and thus would need to defend his crown there and at the U.S. Open to be credited with the Slam

Yet no one other than Budge or Laver has ever won all four grand slams at any point in their career. And Sampras would be the first to do it on three different surfaces: grass (Wimbledon), hard courts (U.S. and Australian Opens) and clay (French Open)

[illegible]

deflect the pressure as he approaches the French, which he describes as the biggest challenge of his career

"I'm trying not to be too consumed with everything," Sampras said last week in Rome, where he won the Italian Open "I'm trying to stay relaxed and play my tennis, and not talk too much and worry about it. I just hope to win the French Open once, whether it's this year, next year or five years from now."

Four months ago, few could [illegible]

Thane basketbal ... on page 10

Football camp

[illegible]

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

GATT about to score self-goal

(Continued from Page 16)

can balance of trade. The Cairns group of countries with substantial participation and potential in international trade appeared a relatively distant threat. The Third World countries were non-entities that barely counted

Little did the Americans realise that the "meek" of the Third World could become a cause of concern in an idealised GATT world, of lower tariffs and subsidies; that India, for example, enjoyed a clear comparative advantage in respect of most agricultural commodities, and that it had the potential to virtually monopolise a number of "sunrise" sectors like medicinal and herbal extracts, seed multiplication, health foods, etc. The realisation came almost with the signature of the Dunkel draft on December 15, 1993 Efforts began immediately to fight a rear-guard action to protect U.S. interests against the onslaught from the Third World of primary produce not only cheap, but also largely free of chemical contamination albeit deficient in grading, packaging and quality control

The American threat to impose duties on imports from counties deficient in labour welfare, human rights and environmental protection can be paraphrased to mean "This is big league game kids, amuse yourself elsewhere." Too much free trade is not good for even the champion of capitalism

The strange confluence of the interests of the Raos of the world and Mr Clinton can have a curious end-product

GATT Act might end not by unifying member-nations into a single trade territory but by splitting them up into umpteen groups on the basis of socio-economic parameters. Having defended multilateralism it might inadvertently score a self-goal against itself and revert the world to square one

The tail-piece of the whole episode is provided by some highly comical scenarios: U.S. demanding hike in wages of Indian labour; Mr George Fernandes opposing them. American president coming forward to protect Indian child labour; Swamy Agnivesh opposing him; Mr Bill Clinton's concern for Indian environment makes Ms Medha Patkar furious Indian intellectuals demanding in the same breath 'swadeshi' protection and unrestricted rights of migration.

(The author is a leader of Shetkari Sangathana.)

Are states intransigent?

(Continued from Page 16)

long term needs have been settled

Banks are shy to lend for new businesses in an adequate magnitude. Larger corporates get away because of their access to domestic capital market and international money markets. In respect of smaller and medium units, as they have to depend on local sources of finance, the position is difficult. Credit is the spur to investment and development. (Many small and medium units die because of delays in release of working capital.)

At critical stages, they need a nursing approach rather than an obstructionistic tactics saying "make do with the capital we have given you". Asphyxiation due to lack of adequate working capital is a more serious block in the way of business than the other delays

Complaints that delays by state bureaucracies are responsible for the new liberalisation not taking root may miss the serious problems which are met after clearances are given Unless we solve this problem, we will be barking up the wrong tree

(The author is a former governor of the Reserve Bank of India.)

No end to Kerala transport stir

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, May 21 (PTI): The strike by a section of employees of the Kerala state road transport corporation (KSRTC), which has been banned by the state government under the Essential Services Maintenance Act, entered its fifth day today amidst exploratory moves from certain quarters to mediate a settlement

The state finance minister, Mr Oomen Chandy, who played a mediator's role during a similar strike in November last, had informal discussions with some leaders of the striking employees.

PSUs 'can outbid foreign firms'

(Continued from Page 16)

power, like BHEL, have acquitted themselves creditably outside the country, even in South-East Asia, in a competitive environment. They have done well even in India in many states where the state electricity boards are run efficiently. I believe they would have been able to bid successfully for new private sector projects if we had competitive bidding. If we had a level playing field in terms of sources of finance, domestic and foreign, then purely in terms of costs and technology PSUs could have out-bid the foreign companies. If the guarantees being given to foreigners are given to Indian investors, then they would also have been able to mobilise foreign funds on their own.

Indian companies have recently been concerned about hostile take-overs and the government and SEBI have recently acted to reassure them. Why didn't SEBI act earlier?

There are three aspects to this issue which I refered to in a note I prepared at SEBI. One, we have made a distinction in our take-over code between friendly, hostile and bail-out take-overs. In the case of hostile take-overs, we had permitted it if the Indian shareholder was willing to accept it with a certain majority voting in favour of the predeator. The shareholders are supreme and if they feel the present management is doing a good job and should be allowed to do so, then they can reject a take-over bid

As for foreign take-overs, for a long time no view was taken on what to do about them. Many foreign companies acquired shares in Indian companies at throwaway prices. The Reserve Bank of India and the government woke up to this after some foreign companies hiked their stake to 40 and 51 per cent. Now the government is saying under FERA we cannot allow this unless the shares are acquired at market prices. This confusion could have been avoided if early action had been taken

Second, in many developed economies when shareholders vote on take-overs, the interested promoter/management does not exercise its vote Shareholders can ask what the foreign shareholder is bringing along with the increased stake Is it better technology, more markets or better management? There is no reason why the foreigner should be allowed to increase his stake merely to get a bigger share of the existing domestic market

Third, there is a CCI (controller of capital issues) formula which can be used to define the price at which shareholding can be increased. This could be below or above the prevailing market price The market price in India can be easily manipulated and so should not be the basis for such share transfer.

SEBI is reportedly considering a new badla trading system. Would you have liked to see badla restored?

It is a fallacy that I stopped all badla for all time In fact, badla was only temporarily suspended in December 1993 because we found excessive speculation in the market. Then brokers assured that they would bring down outstanding positions, to zero by March

On January 4, 1994, a written communication was sent to all stock exchanges allowing them to have speculative trading on a separate track and carry-forward their speculative positions subject to a limit of 90 days This offer was there in writing They could have accepted it and carried on from there, but they did not accept it.

Later SEBI came out with an alternative which was also not found acceptable, perhaps for being too complicated The problem is that they are not able to suggest anything which is acceptable to SEBI Nobody is able to ask the exchanges and the brokers why they turned down SEBI's offer in January and if they have anything better to offer It is not correct to say that I stopped all badla for all time, but nobody now seems to know what to do

Is SEBI an over-regulator of the market, an anachronism in the era of liberalisation?

I don't think so When I look back on my three years at SEBI, I am confident I would not have done it any other way Those who accuse SEBI of over-regulation either do not know what stock market regulation is all about in a modern economy, or know exactly what it is and don't want it! A lot of people who went abroad to study capital market regulation and found what it involved, returned home and left their knowledge back, as lost baggage, because they did not want to disturb the apple cart We are not over-regulating here In other countries they are stricter Only the vested interests have objected, most others now realise we need these regulations

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National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) invites books/manuscripts suitable for children in the **age group 5-8 and 9-15 years** for the XXVIII Prize Competition for Children's Literature.

PRIZES : Sixty prizes will be offered.

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The amount of prize will be Rs. 10,000/-

Forty prizes for authors and illustrators of twenty books/manuscripts for the **age group 5-8.** two in Hindi and one each in Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

The amount of award for each book/manuscript will be Rs. 10,000/- of which **Rs. 5,000/- will be given to the author and Rs. 5,000/- to the illustrator.**

Eligibility of Entries :

a. Books published during the two calendar **years 1991 and 1992** will be eligible. Published books may be on any theme suitable for children.

b. **Unpublished manuscripts, preferably in typed form are also eligible.** The manuscripts, however, must be on a theme related to **TOLERANCE.**

c. The manuscripts for the age group 5-8 must be accompanied by illustrations/art work.

d. Textbooks, translations or reproductions of other books will not be entertained.

e. Entries submitted earlier for children's Literature Prize Competition or a book which has received a prize in any competition organized by any agency or organisation of a State Government or Government of India would not be eligible for this Competition.

ENTRY FEE :

Each entry (book/manuscript) must be accompanied by an entry fee of Rs. 20/- (Rupees Twenty) in the form of a postal order in favour of Secretary, NCERT, New Delhi-110 016.

CLOSING DATE 16 AUGUST 1994

Further details and rules regarding the Competition can be had from the address given below or any Office of the Field Adviser of NCERT (whose addresses are given below).

Professor Arjun Dev
Head of the Department of Education in Social Sciences and Humanities,
National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT),
Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi-110 016.

Addresses of Offices of Field Advisers of NCERT :

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THE NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMME IN INDIA WAS LAUNCHED WITH PROMISES OF PROSPERITY AND RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION. BUT THINGS HAVE GONE SERIOUSLY WRONG. THE PROMISES HAVE NOT BEEN KEPT. BECAUSE, AS THE RECENT FIRE AT THE NARORA ATOMIC POWER PLANT PROVED, NUCLEAR ENERGY HAS CREATED A MYRIAD RISKS AND HAZARDS, BUT NOT THE SOLUTIONS OR DEVICES TO COPE WITH THEM. THE ONLY WAY TO DEAL WITH NUCLEAR ENERGY IS TO GET RID OF IT, SAYS **PRAFUL BIDWAI.**

THE NUCLEAR DREAM HAS SOURED

■ Nuclear energy is just plain bad news. This has once again been proved at Narora, India's fourth— also Uttar Pradesh's first, and hopefully, last— atomic power station. Although there was no release of radioactivity as a result of the fire that destroyed the turbine generator of Unit I, the accident is a grim reminder of just how poorly critical safety systems tend to function in our nuclear facilities.

Thus it was bad enough that a fire broke out at all in the proximity of the nuclear reactor building. What was worse, it was not isolated but spread to cables and other flammable matter; smoke sensors failed to detect it; and it raged for five hours before it could be put out. Had nuclear material been directly involved, the consequences of this safety system breakdown would have been too horrifying to contemplate.

Narora was followed just a week later by the explosion of a tank holding radioactive waste in a nuclear weapons complex in Tomsk in Siberia, which contaminated land, air and water, and exposed people and animals to as-yet-undetermined doses of radiation. The quantities involved were only a microscopic fraction of the world's military holdings of weapons-grade nuclear material, estimated at a humongous 2,300,000 kilos. Only 5 to 20 kilos are needed to build a Hiroshima or Nagasaki type bomb.

Potentially, both military stocks and the millions of kilos of nuclear material contained in the world's 420 civilian reactors represent a serious security risk and a menace to human life all over the globe. Each one of the facilities in which nuclear substances are mined, refined, produced, processed, treated, reacted, reprocessed, stored or transported is vulnerable in numerous ways and prone to mishaps; most are operated in dubious or patently unsafe ways; all of them are a potential menace to the public and to occupational workers.

I shall argue that the risk they present is unacceptable but inherent to the technology, that it is not feasible to speak of safe and manageable forms of nuclear development, and the only rational thing to do with nuclear energy is to get rid of it.

The nuclear age dawned upon the world with a horrific event: the bombing of Hiroshima on August 5, 1945, which killed 140,000 and condemned many more to live a life of unbearable misery as victims of slow radiation poisoning.

In India, the nuclear energy programme was launched as the key to rapid industrialisation and the harbinger of a new era of unbounded prosperity: the country's scientific elite would learn the secret of tapping a vast, abundant, cheap, safe, manageable, environmentally sound source of energy and open the floodgates to modernisation and spectacular development. Nuclear enthusiasts declared atomic power would be "too cheap even to meter". The country committed itself to spending large chunks of its science and technology as well as energy budgets on nuclear power.

Had early plans materialised, we would have had more nuclear electricity by 1985 than the world has today! If promises of economy and low costs had been fulfilled, nuclear power would not have been two or three times more expensive than electricity generated by burning coal or damming rivers.

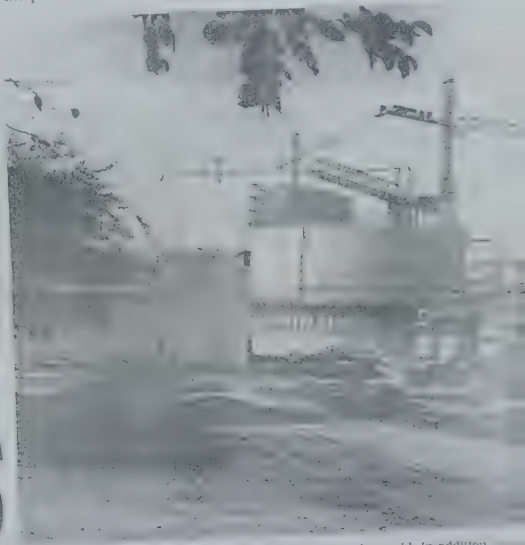
Had nuclear energy been safe, we would not have had an appalling record, including the poisoning of hundreds of nuclear plant workers with high doses of radiation.

'Had there been no real long-term substitute for nuclear power, we would not have seen the development of alternative sources of energy such as wind, solar or biogas.

And had we pursued nuclear energy development for peaceful purposes alone, we would not have detonated the Pokharan explosion in 1974, nor by 1991 stockpiled enough weapons-grade plutonium to make 40 to 60 bombs. Nor would we have been placed in an embarrassing diplomatic situation, internationally, on account of our unviably ambivalent, inconsistent and disingenuous policy on nuclear weapons.

Evidently, something has seriously gone wrong: the nuclear dream has turned sour. This is true not just for India, but the entire world. In the US and in western Europe, barring France, not a single nuclear power station has been built since 1978. Each year, the international nuclear industry scales down its estimates of nuclear power development further and further. Against projections of 100 per cent, today less than a fifth of the world's electricity is produced by means of nuclear fission. The proportion has dropped since Chernobyl to under 17 per cent.

There have been no fewer than 150 major nuclear accidents and "incidents" involving releases of radioactivity

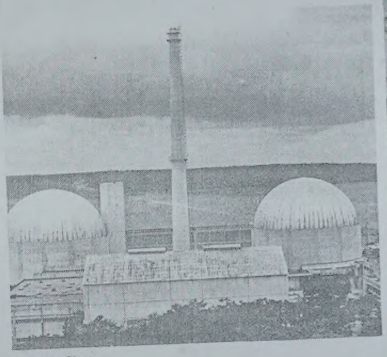


throughout the world. In addition [illegible] have been scores of mishaps in [illegible] military installations with extremely harmful human and environmental consequences. In the submarine fleet of the former USSR, there were no fewer than 22 serious mishaps. It has now been [illegible]

The nature [illegible] haps and accidents have rarely been fully disclosed, leave alone adequately studied, thanks to the secretive and opaque ways in which the industry functions and to its links with military programmes.

Chernobyl in the Ukraine [illegible] remains, after the Three Mile Island [illegible] the US (1979), the world's best-studied nuclear disaster. The fallout from Chernobyl has been estimated to have caused between 115,000 and half a million cancer deaths in a swathe of land that extends all the way to Scotland in the west. The total exposure from Chernobyl is believed to be of the order of 100 to 150 million man-rems (a unit of radiation), of which 0.2 to 0.5 is the controversial annual limit for the general public

All reactors are potential Chernobyls. India's Canadian-borrowed design, the CANDU, on which the Rajasthan, Madras, Narora and Kakrapur plants are based, is no exception. Each one of these can undergo a fuel meltdown and a catastrophic accident of Chernobyl's magnitude.



Rajasthan Plant



Internal view of the Trombay plant

of time. Perhaps there never will be. Even short-term storage is an expensive and high-risk proposition that can throw nuclear economics totally out of gear.

Similarly, nuclear plants themselves remain a horrible liability for thousands of years after their useful economic life runs out in 20 to 30 years. Decommissioning a plant that is thoroughly (but necessarily) contaminated can itself cost about half the money that it took to build it. And even this essentially involves only entombing a structure seething with radioactivity, which is bound to escape or leach out at some point of time, even if it does not do so in, say, a hundred years.

In nuclear technology, a few hundred years are nothing: the half-lives (the time after which one-half of the original quantity of radioactivity contained in a decaying substance will still remain) of several radionuclides run into hundreds, even thousands, of years. For instance, the half-life of plutonium is over 24,000 years!

Again, there is no way in which, say, the products of the fuel cycle in its later stages can be used without creating further problems. For instance, plutonium can be extracted from spent fuel and deployed either in a bomb or a fast breeder reactor (FBR). However, such reactors are even more dangerous than ordinary (thermal) reactors. They are like a mass of barely controlled bombs that can go off at a microsecond's notice. No FBR in the world has performed even remotely safely nor has it "bred" (which is why the name) more fissile material that it consumed. It is just an unviable, superproblematic technology.

Nuclear energy's self-generated problems give it a uniquely distressing character which is aggravated by the nature of radiation as a poison. Precisely because radiation is an invisible and intangible but long-acting poison, it is easy to be exposed to it and be harmed by it without experiencing any short-term effects in most cases. Radiation is harmful in all doses, however low, and its effects cannot be countered or cured by medicine. Radioactivity cannot be eliminated or eradicated. It can only be relocated or allowed to spend itself.

The Indian nuclear programme has been a gross failure in respect of safety. Most facilities in the department of atomic energy are marked by recurrent but routine breaches of safety norms, circumvention of standards, poor health monitoring of employees, frequent resort to questionable operating practices and incomplete disclosures about the risks suffered by the public.

Thus, at Tarapur, perhaps one of the world's most contaminated atomic power plants, workers, many of them inadequately trained contract employees, have been exposed to radiation doses well above the 5 rem limit once specified by the DAE's own safety committee, but itself considered too high by radiation protection experts and health physicists.

I have myself seen— and reported in 1978, without being factually contradicted— that employees of the Rajasthan atomic power station would enter and work on maintenance jobs in the reactor building where the levels of concentration of tritium (an isotope of hydrogen and a potent poison) exceed 300 times the permissible amount.

A thorough study by V P Padmanabhan has not only exposed safety violations on the management's part at the Indian Rare Earth's plant at Alwaye in Kerala but established a tight correlation between worker's exposure to toxic radionuclides and the prevalence of genetic defects such as Down's Syndrome among their children.

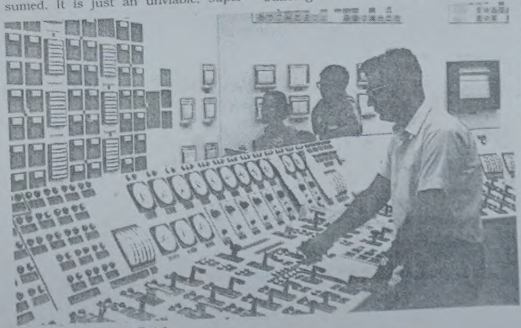
More recently, Dr Sanghamitra Gadekar reported extraordinarily high incidence of skeletal deformities and other abnormalities among children living close to the Rajasthan atomic power station. The magnitude of the problem itself warrants a systematic epidemiological study but the DAE has ruled it out of court.

The DAE and the country's nuclear programme are not subject to external scrutiny, even by Parliament. The department refuses to publish vital information that concerns the public and therefore ought to be in the public domain. It enjoys blanket powers under the Atomic Energy Act of 1962, which it has never failed to exploit to guard itself against criticism and to evade accountability. Its own regulatory agency, the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board, is essentially toothless and cannot order the DAE's operations divisions to conform to its prescriptions and recommendations.

Blind to public concerns, dogmatic in its adherence to a dangerous technology, and devoid of legitimacy, the department is going ahead with its ill-conceived programme. It has consistently failed to learn from its long history of mistakes, misjudgements and disasters. It today takes one-and-a-half times longer to build a nuclear power plant than it did a decade ago. Its economics is one vast mess. The best of its technical talent has either quit the department or faded out. The morale of its staff has never been lower.

The DAE is now increasingly running into opposition organised by citizens' groups and grass-roots initiatives in Kakrapar, Kaiga, Koondankalam and Rajasthan. The nuclear lobby can no longer claim that it has any supporters left outside of itself. Surely it is time we put an end to the wasteful indulgence, the drain on public money and the invitation to environmental disaster that the DAE represents. That would serve the interests not just of safety, health, rationality in energy policy and sound economics, but of public morality, decency and sanity too.

The DAE and the nuclear programme of the country are not subject to external scrutiny, even by Parliament. The department enjoys blanket powers under the Atomic Energy Act of 1962, which it has never failed to exploit to guard itself against criticism and to evade accountability.



Central Control Room at Trombay

Had early plans materialised, we would have had more nuclear electricity by 1985 than the world has today! Had nuclear power been safe, we would not have had the poisoning of hundreds of nuclear plant workers. Had there been no substitute for it, we would not have alternative sources of energy. And had we pursued its development for peaceful purposes alone, we would not have had Pokharan.



Narora Atomic Power Plant

most countries). This is like poisoning 2 to 3 million people with an overdose of 50 rems. A dose of this magnitude can be fatal, one of 200 to 300 rems is almost certainly so.

One lesson of Chernobyl is simple: a serious accident, involving a loss of coolant (vitally necessary to remove heat from a nuclear reactor's core) and leading to a meltdown is possible in every type of reactor. It is not unique to the RBMK variety which was at work at Chenobyl; nor is the occurrence of an accident mainly dependent upon operator error or other human inadequacies. All reactors, whether of the pressurized or boiler water type, whether they use light or heavy water as coolant, and no matter what the moderator, the geometry or neutron flux and other parameters, are vulnerable. They are potential Chernobyls, according to an independent but authoritative study published by Greenpeace International.

India's Canadian-borrowed design, the CANDU— on which the Rajasthan, Madras, Narora and Kakrapar plants are based, and on which two more stations are planned— is no exception. Each one of these can undergo a fuel meltdown and a catastrophic accident of Chernobyl's magnitude.

However, the problem of hazards and risks in nuclear technology is not confined to power reactors alone. It extends to the entire fuel cycle— from the mining of uranium, through fuel fabrication, burning of the fuel in reactors, to reprocessing spent fuel in order to extract plutonium and the use of the latter in fast breeder reactors, and finally to the storage and "disposal" of nuclear wastes. Associated with these are processes of manufacture of critically important materials such as heavy water, graphite and metallic alloys used in building the plant.

Each of these processes involves risks and hazards in relocating, handling, concentrating or processing radioactivity and extremely toxic chemicals, often under relatively high temperatures or pressures. In each step, nuclear wastes are generated; at each step, workers are exposed internally and externally to radionuclides; at each step, there is a possibility of release of nuclear material or radiation into the external environment.

The grostesque irony is that nuclear technology creates these problems, risks and hazards, but not the solutions or devices to cope with them. For instance, by 1990, the world's nuclear power plants had accumulated spent fuel in excess of 80,000 tonnes— or 20 times the amount in 1970. There is simply no reasonable, safe and reliable method of storing these wastes for a prolonged period of time, leave alone disposing of them.

There are no known natural formations or materials, nor synthetic substances, which can withstand the awesome corrosive power of these wastes for any length

SIAMESE TWINS

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS 'PEACEFUL' NUCLEAR ENERGY

■ The nuclear power industry is fond of making a hermetic separation between the "peaceful" atom and military nuclear programmes. Nuclear weapons, it holds, are of course evil, but nuclear power generation has nothing to do with them.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Whether in their origins, their technological bases or in their corporate/state relations, the two are closely and inseparably linked. The one provides raw materials, designs, personnel, finance or a cover of legitimacy to the other. The two have grown together, they often are managed by the same agency. They have been called "Siamese twins".

This is especially the case in countries which have clandestine weapons programmes. Spent fuel from power or "research" reactors in the "peaceful" part of the programme is diverted to secret or unsafeguarded reprocessing facilities where plutonium is extracted from it for use in bombs of the Nagasaki type.

Alternatively, natural uranium is "enriched" (the fissile component, or U-235, is concentrated) in facilities ostensibly set up to produce fuel for light water power reactors. The same techniques or machines can yield highly enriched (90 per cent or more) uranium, albeit in smaller quantities, but fit for use in a Hiroshima type bomb.

India has used the first, plutonium, route, at Trombay and in its numerous reprocessing facilities, while Pakistan has used the second at Kahuta.

According to several technical experts as well as Western intelligence sources, quoted at length in a recent study by the reputed Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, India's main sources for plutonium have been the CIRUS and Dhruva reactors; the total stockpile could be as high as 200 to 300 kilos, enough to make 40 to 60 bombs.

Pakistan's Kahuta facility went operational in the '80s. By 1989, the country had achieved a breakthrough in stabilising output and enriching uranium to the required grade. The current accumulation is estimated at 200 kg, enough for six to 10 bombs.

Neither country has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty or any other nuclear restraint agreement. They are both under pressure to do so. There is no consensus in either country in favour of openly going nuclear. In India, the BJP alone advocates such an extreme step. In both countries, there is a small but significant current of opinion that opposes the NPT for its discriminatory character but argues for a dialogue for disarmament, and favours a non-discriminatory arrangement such as a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in South Asia.



Dhruva (left) and CIRUS (right) reactors

India's main sources for plutonium have been the CIRUS and Dhruva reactors; the total stockpile could be as high as 200 to 300 kilos, enough to make 40 to 60 bombs.



A justice has been denied justice.
— *Sanjay Ramaswami, son of Supreme Court judge V. Ramaswami, who faces impeachment for alleged financial irregularities, in* The Telegraph

* * *

P.V. Narasimha Rao

When I go back and meet foreign delegations, I'll be a different man. Reinforced by the aura of this meet, I see god in every Indian.
— *Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, after attending*

* * *

The economic logic of dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest-wage country is impeccable.
— *Lawrence Summers, chief economist at the World Bank, in* The Economist

Reorient intelligence network: Chavan

NEW DELHI, Feb. 29 (PTI).

THE home minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, today called for a total re-orientation of the intelligence and police machinery to combat the terrorist menace, which has attained alarming proportions.

Addressing a meeting of eight chief ministers, the Lt-governor of Delhi and senior officials, Mr Chavan emphasised that the affected police stations and districts should form the core of the overall counter-terrorist strategy.

This would require proper selection of the district and police station level officers, revamping and reorganisation of police stations, upgradation of logistical support, including communication and transport, he said.

The meeting was attended by the chief ministers of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra.

The home minister said special attention should be given to sensitisation of the ground-level staff and training methodologies.

The home minister stressed that there was need for improvement in generation of ground-level intelligence through setting up of dedicated groups at local, district and state levels.

It is imperative to step up intelligence gathering and physical security arrangements on the Indo-Pak, Indo-Nepal borders in view of their frequent use by Punjab terrorists, he said.

The meting was convened by the home minister to discuss ways to tackle the growing threat of terrorism in various parts of the country.

He said there should be joint anti-terrorist operations in collaboration with neighbouring states and the intelligence bureau as a follow-up of interrogation outputs and intelligence leads.

Referring to Punjab, the minister said over 10,000 people had been killed by terrorists during the past decade. During 1990 and 1991, 4,938 people had fallen victim to terrorist violence, he said, adding that over 1,000 policemen had lost thier lives in these operations in the same period.

Bomb hoax at Madras airport

MADRAS, Feb. 29 (PTI): Two successive bomb scares at Madras airport yesterday evening delayed the Delhi-bound Airbus flight, besides inconveniencing passengers, visitors and airlines staff.

Airport sources said a man, identifying himself as 'Ramachandran', rang up to say that a bomb had been placed on the Delhi-bound flight. He also left a telephone number.

Passengers already on board the aircraft were immediately offloaded, and the plane was subjected to a thorough check in the isolation bay, but no explosives were found. The number left by the man also proved 'bogus,' the sources said.

Just as security men were heaving a sigh of relief, another call was received by the Indian Airlines duty officer from a waiter at a city hotel, who said he had overheard some guests speaking of bombs being placed in both terminals. All passengers, visitors and airlines staff were immediately asked to leave the terminals, but a search again yielded nothing.

Rupee partly convertible

(Continued from Page 1)

Taking direct and indirect taxes together, the changes proposed are expected to result in a net revenue loss of Rs 517 crores to the Centre while the states will gain Rs 1,500 crores. Consequently, the fiscal deficit will be Rs 34,408 crores.

For the second year in running, the country's defence outlay shows a decrease in real terms with the next year's allocation being Rs 17,500 crores as compared to Rs 16,350 crores in the present year.

Though there is a marginal increase of seven per cent in the next year's allocation, with double-digit inflation running for most of the year, in real terms there will be a marginal decrease.

Giving the outlay for defence forces, the finance minister said combined with some economies and tight expenditure control, he was confident that the allocation would enable the armed forces to fulfil their responsibilities in ensuring peace and security of the nation.

Along with the defence outlay, another major announcement was the government's acceptance of the one-rank, one-pension demand of ex-servicemen and a separate ad hoc expenditure of Rs 120 crores per annum for it.

Though not giving the quantum jump in pensions, the finance minister said the ad hoc increase in the pension rates applicable to defence personnel would be effective from January 1 this year and would benefit over 600,000 armed forces pensioners of all ranks.

The government has also ordered grant of ex-gratia family pension to the families of deceased reservists not in receipt of family pensions.

With an outlay of Rs 17,500 crores, the defence outlay forms 14.5 per cent of the next year's total expenditure of Rs 1,19,086.70 crores. The army as usual gets the major chunk of the total defence outlay, with its share showing an increase of Rs 504.51 crores over the last year's revised estimates.

The outlay on army has been pegged at Rs 8,638.26 crores as compared to last year's revised estimates of Rs 8,134.26 crores and the 1991-92 budgetary estimates of Rs 8,079.13 crores. The air force also gets a marginal increased outlay of Rs 129.5 crores to Rs 2,463.27 crores for 1992-93 from last year's revised estimate of Rs 2,334.22 crores.

Punjab session from March 16

The Times of India News Service

CHANDIGARH, Feb. 29: The first session of the newly elected Punjab assembly will begin on March 16 when the MLAs take the oath. The speaker is expected to be elected the next day. The proceedings will formally begin on March 18 with the govenor's address to the house.

Meanwhile, the first formal meeting of the concil of ministers here yesterday endorsed the proposed draft annual plan outlay of Rs 1,500 crore for 1992-93. It is, however, subject to further discussions with the planning commission. The draft plan will be discussed at meeting between the chief minister and the deputy chairman of the planning commission at Delhi on March 6.

The steep hike in the proposed plan size was attributed to the pressing needs of the state economy owing to the difficult conditions prevailing in the state for the past several years.

Major LTTE attack on army camp

By Ashwani Talwar
The Times of India News Service

COLOMBO, February 29.

TROOPS operating in the Thoppigala jungles in east Sri Lanka came under a fierce Tamil militant attack yesterday and one report said 21 soldiers were killed.

The army today confirmed the attack took place, but refused to release the figure of those killed or missing in action. *The Island* newspaper said 21 soldiers from a 65-strong patrolforce were killed when they lost their bearings and stumbled on a LTTE camp at Kodimbimalai, south east of Welikanda.

The soldiers had trekked up to Welikanda on the Batticaloa-Polonnaruwa border from Thoppigala and were returning to base when they were ambushed. The attack took place on the eve on a visit by the president, Mr R. Premadasa, to Welikanda town to address Sinhalese farmers settled there several years ago as part of a massive irrigation scheme.

The encounter, however, took place far from the inhabited area and did not appear to be connected with the presidential visit to mark the conclusion of "Mahaweli week" celebrations.

The army commander, Lt-Gen Cecil Waidyaratne, is reported to have flown to the area.

Last evening, militants also attacked a naval craft bringing troops from leave to the Vettilaikeni army camp, set up a few months ago on the strip of land connecting Jaffna peninsula with the mainland. Two security personnel were killed and two injured when two LTTE boats mounted with .50 guns opened fire.

college, the new prestigious complex at Bambolim, because of their own vested interests. He insinuated that the chief minister encouraged them. Later, however, Dr de Souza denied making such charges.

This only is another indication that he has not given up his ambition.

Political circles here, however, feel that the chief minister will have a clean innings at least till the presidential elections are over.

Lankan PM faces no-trust move

The Times of India News Service

COLOMBO, February 29: The Lankan opposition has given notice of two no-confidence motions against the Prime Minister and the government.

Two separate notices signed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SELFF) and other opposition leaders have been submitted to the speaker of parliament, Mr M.H. Mohamed. The no-trust motion against the government is over a proposal to puchase six Airbuses for Air Lanka for U.S. dollars 700 million.

The other notice is against the Prime Minister, Mr D.B. Wijetunga, who in his role as the country's finance minister recently stated that the two state owned banks were insolvent. The statement, which proposed restructuring and recapitalisation of the two banks, has been criticised by the opposition and bank unions for being irresponsible.

The ruling party is expected to easily defeat the two motions in parliament, but they will allow the opposition a chance to voice its objections to some of the economic policies of the Ranasinghe Premadasa goveernment.

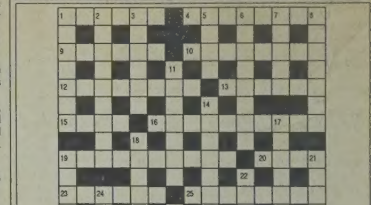
Curfew lifted in Valley

SRINAGAR, February 29 (PTI): The curfew imposed in parts of Srinagar, three towns of north Kashmir district of Baramulla and Anantnag in south Kashmir was lifted today.

Shops and business establishments opened in the city and other parts of the Kashmir valley. Vehicles were plying normally after a week-long bandh, staged to protest against the alleged sacrilege of Hazratbal shrine, an official spokesperson said here.

Barring an arson incident in which three houses were gutted in Anantnag yesterday, the situation was by and large peaceful in the Valley, the spokesperson said.

No.1805 SUNDAY CROSSWORD



CRYPTIC CLUES

ACROSS: 1 Hose used on borders (6) 4 Stop work to steal (5,3) 9 Spot something on the board (6) 10 Artisan whose work caused feathers to fly (8) 12 A tonic it may be, a mention in dispatches(8) 13 Vegetables with holes in them (6) 15 Mark goes back to school (4) 16 Be grateful for rise in value (10) 19 Like an astronaut returning - or failing to get lift-off ? (10) 20 Highlight in the theatrical world (4) 23 See 11 Down 25 Many may come to mourn Sue (8) 27Six have an airing, perhaps, in America (8) 28 Usual place for a wake (6) 29 Sent round small amount of money as a deposit (8) 30 In trouble, is repeatedly after credit (6)

DOWN: 1 Criticise long dash (7) 2 Poet involved with fruit cake (5,4) 3 Fastidiousness for exactness (6) 5 It flows out of line(4) 6 Downpour makes it hard to see (8) 7 Unusual chore for painters(5) 8 Anticipate charge for concealing minerals (7) 11 and 23 Across: He takes a stand on a particular case, so to speak (7,6) 14 One never knows what it may hold for the present (4,3) 17 Writer shares out novel (9) 18 A metal or I'm much confused(8) 19 Develops, and gose round topless 1(7) 21 Objects to Ernest's replacement (7) 22 An exceptionally warm spring (6) 24 Bill free of bitterness? (5) 26 Indication there's good starting in evil (4)

QUICK CLUES

ACROSS: 1 Islamic (6) 4 Large general store (8) 9 Desire to do harm (6) 10 Verdict (8) 12 Be too clever for (8) 13 Seize suddenly (6) 15 Small pellets of ice (4) 16 An increase by stages (10) 19 By choice (10) 20 South American country (4) 23 Young swan (6) 25 Ancestor (8) 27 A spanish dance (8) 28 African hunting expedition (6) 29 Unchanging (8) 30 Joyous (6)

DOWN: 1 Large extinct elephant(7) 2 Single gem in setting (9) 3 Revenue (6) 5 Submissive(4) 6 Eastern (8) 7 Imbecile (5) 8 Famous violinist (7) 11 Fine glass (7) 14 Spanish sailing ship (7) 17 Graceless (9) 18 Intensely felt (8) 19 An ocean (7) 21 East European republic (7) 22 Happen to(6) 24 Corn (5) 26 Scrutinise (4)

SOLUTIONS FOR CROSSWORD No. 1804

CRYPTIC

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QUICK

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(Regn. No. 001571/BOM/PER/100/3/2646/89)

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KUWAIT

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5. **SAND BLASTERS** – 10 Nos.

Contact immdtly. with bio-data, etc:

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Bombay 400016
(Regn.No. 000303/BOM/PER/1000 + /3/273/84)

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